

Chican@ Critical Perspectives and Praxis at the Turn of the 21st Century: Selected Papers from the 2002, 2003 and 2004 NACCS Conference Proceedings

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CHICAN@

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PRAXIS
at the Turn of the 21st Century

SELECTED PAPERS

FROM THE 2002, 2003,
AND 2004 NACCS
CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS



Ed A. Muñoz, Ph.D.
Editor
University of Wyoming

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AND 2004 NACCS CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

ED A. MUÑOZ, PH.D.
EDITOR
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

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INTRODUCTION

In 1989, as a non-traditional undergraduate student, I attended my first National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies Conference (NACCS) at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, California. I did not know then that I would eventually become a Chican@ Studies scholar, but I did know from that day forward that I would strive to incorporate a Chican@ Studies perspective into my future research activities. Needless to say, this commitment served me well as I successfully progressed through my graduate studies in Sociology and through two faculty appointments. Probably most important for me over the years has been the gradual and ongoing intellectual sustenance I received from every conference attended, paper presented, and panel session organized. Because of this, it has been an honor to serve the organization as the editor for selected papers presented in this publication from the 2002, 2003, and 2004 NACCS proceedings.

Organizational and budgetary constraints precluded individual annual publications for 2002 and 2003, as well as impacting the number of papers that could be published now. In any case, a call for papers was sent out shortly after the 2004 annual meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Twenty-one papers were considered for publication. The pool

was split in terms of the number of males and females submitting papers. Almost half of the prospective authors were from California. The only other states with multiple submissions were Texas and Arizona, with the others coming from states included in the Pacific Northwest and Midwest FOCOs. Almost half of the paper submissions came from students, with another fourth coming from assistant professors. Not surprisingly, the majority of the papers were from the more recent 2004 proceedings in Albuquerque.

In consultation with a four-member editorial committee, I implemented a paper selection process that consisted of blind manuscript reviews similar to a refereed journal process. I distributed papers to committee members attempting to match papers with reviewers' respective disciplinary expertise. Each paper was distributed to two readers with instructions to accept a paper as is; with minor revisions; with moderate revisions; or to reject the paper. I acted as the final arbiter on papers that returned with non-concurring evaluations. Of the eleven papers accepted, two were accepted as is; seven with minor revisions; and two with moderate revisions. Five of the authors are males, whereas 6 are females. Four papers are from California, three are from Texas, and four are from the states in the Rocky Mountain, Northwest, and Midwest FOCOs. One paper is from an undergraduate student, five are from graduate students, and five are from tenure-track and tenured faculty. Seven of the papers are from the 2004 Albuquerque proceedings; two are from the 2003 Los Angeles proceedings; one from the 2002 Chicago proceedings; and one that encompasses all three proceedings. The interdisciplinary nature of the field is evidenced by a wide range of topics from both the humanities and social sciences.

Papers are presented by annual proceedings in reverse chronological order. From the 2004 Albuquerque conference, "Building the New Majority: The Many Faces of Chican@s," we begin with the Frederick A. Cervantes Graduate Student Premio winner. In "Re-Membering the Body: Spiritual Genealogy, Collective Memory, and Lost Histories in Delilah Montoya's *Codex Delilah*," Ann Marie Leimer explains and analyzes *Codex Delilah*, *Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicatl to Chicana*, a work produced by photographer and printmaker Delilah Montoya in conjunction

with the late poet and playwright Cecilio García-Camarillo. Leimer discusses how “Montoya uses memory to weave complex, vibrant histories from a fragmented, partially remembered past... and how she retrieves and re-constructs the bodies of knowledge lost due to European contact through the creation of a spiritual genealogy.”

Norma A. Valenzuela follows with another cultural critique entitled, “Lourdes Portillo’s Development of a Chicana Feminist Film Aesthetic: *After the Earthquake*, *Las Madres*, and *Señorita Extraviada*.” Valenzuela, a Ph.D. graduate student at Arizona State University, focuses on three Lourdes Portillo films that address important Chicana political questions in a female environment. Valenzuela asserts the groundbreaking nature of such films, acknowledging that Chicano films have historically focused on patriarchal discourse and dramatized conflicts that needed to be fought by men. Ultimately, this paper is a tribute to Portillo for advancing Chicana voices and adding a new perspective to cinema historically dominated by men.

University of Texas History Ph.D. candidate, Lilia Raquel D. Rosas, ensues with her critical study, “On Grinding Corn and Plaiting Hair: Placing Tejanas and Black Texan Women in the Progressive Era.” Rosas attempts to re(un)cover the positionality of Tejanas and black Texan women in the history of the United States. Focusing on the participation of African-American and ethnic Mexican women in sex work and the social movements against prostitution and white slavery in Texas, Rosas engages the reader in a discussion that “interweaves the theory, historiography, and history necessary for complicating our understanding of sexuality, race, and reform in the United States.”

Three papers with a sociological focus begin with, “Interlingualism: The Language of Chicanos/as,” by California State University, Stanislaus Chican@ Studies assistant professor, Lilia De Katzew. In this paper, De Katzew breaks down the origins of interlingualism—a form of language practiced by Chicanos that reflects “their cultural, educational, socioeconomic, and geo-historical experiences.” Professor De Katzew is critical of individuals who work with Chican@s but discount their vernacular forms of communication. She makes the case that interlingualism is a valid

form of communication that educators and others who work with Chican@ populations in the Southwest should respect and be familiar with.

The 2004 Frederick A. Cervantes Undergraduate Student Premio winner from Oregon State University, Ricardo Larios, presents a sociological analysis on immigrant adaptation. In “Ay dolor, ya me volviste a dar”: Loss and Cultural Mourning among Mexican Origin Immigrants to Oregon,” Larios explores how Mexican immigrants cope with separation from their homelands through a case study of the soccer field in Salem, Oregon. In particular, Larios finds that the soccer field is a place of cultural mourning, grief that is symptomatic of immigration. At the same time, the soccer field is a place for easing the process of acculturation and integration as immigrants oftentimes find themselves in contact with American mainstream soccer enthusiasts.

Jesse Diaz Jr., a University of California Riverside Sociology Ph.D. candidate, adds new empirical evidence to the gang literature in his timely paper, “Chicano Gang Membership, Familism, and Social Support: A Critical Examination of Conflicting Theoretical Models.” Diaz completed a study of 52 post-adolescent, self-identified Chicano gang members in Southern California. Findings demonstrated support for a surrogate-family theoretical approach in explaining post-adolescent gang membership. As adolescent gang members matured they sought social support from both family and peers.

Historical analysis is highlighted in “The Political Repression of a Chicano Movement Activist: The Plight of Francisco E. ‘Kiko’ Martinez,” by University of New Mexico History Ph.D. candidate, James Barrera. In particular, Barrera describes COINTELPRO strategies used by local, state, and federal authorities to harass Kiko Martinez into Mexican exile. After his return to the United States, Martinez’ subsequent acquittal of apparently trumped up terrorist charges in Denver, Colorado demonstrates the extremes that government officials used to silence Chicano Movement activists.

The 2003 NACCS Los Angeles conference entitled, “No More Wars:

Sovereignities, Sexualities, and Human Rights,” yielded two papers dealing with Chican@ education and union organizing. California State University Northridge Chicano Studies assistant professor, Rosa Furumoto, examines parents’ school participation in “The Wars in the Schools: Mexicana Mothers’ Collective Cultural Capital.” Her case study findings contradict deficit models that claim Chican@ parents have a limited interest in their children’s schooling. Furumoto argues that “we [should] re-conceptualize Latin@ parents as the holders of highly valuable collective cultural capital that can serve as a powerful force for positive change in schools and communities.”

In “Changing Agricultural Labor Laws in California,” California State University Chico Chicano Studies assistant professor Susan Marie Green, offers a first-hand peregrino’s account of the United Farm Worker’s 165 mile march through the San Joaquin Valley in August of 2002. The purpose of this march was to encourage the Governor to sign California Senate Bill 1736 into effect, which would provide an enforcement mechanism for the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) of 1975, that recognized farm workers’ rights to organize. Although the Governor did not sign the bill, he did sign replacement bills SB 1156 and AB 2596. Green informs readers that the farm workers movement is alive and well.

Indiana University Northwest Minority Studies assistant professor Raoul Contreras, provides an essay on, “Chicanismo, Patriotism, September 11th, 2001: A NACCS Political Stance on the War.” This reflective essay is rooted in activities of the COMPAS caucus that took place at the 2002 Chicago conference, “El Pueblo Unido...: Strength in Unity,” and which continued through the 2003 Los Angeles and 2004 Albuquerque conferences. Their activities addressed issues related to the Bush Administration’s War on Terror. Contreras asserts that NACCS’ ideological dimension and political identity mandates a stance in opposition to the War on Terror, and furthermore calls for the continued integration between scholarship and activism in order to bring a halt to the violence that is disproportionately levied upon people of color.

Finally, University of Houston History professor Guadalupe San Miguel illustrates Chican@ agency in his paper, “When Tejano Ruled the Airwaves: The Rise and Fall of KQQK in Houston, Texas.” Originally, KQQK was a bilingual radio station that played *solamente* Tejano music. After a series of programming changes that favored a monolingual Spanish demographic, KQQK fell from the top of the Latino radio market in Houston due to the loss of a broader and larger bilingual fan base. San Miguel associates KQQK’s fall with their apparent failure to understand the importance that a hybrid Tejano identity and culture play in the lives of Texas Mexicans.

Of course, the publication of the proceedings would not have been possible without the rigorous work of an editorial committee. I extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Norma Cantu, University of Texas at San Antonio, Dr. Sylvia Fuentes, University of Northern Illinois, Dr. Susan Green, California State University Chico, and Jose Moreno, Michigan State University. Their scholarly dedication is reflected in the quality of the papers. From the NACCS organization, a special thank you goes to Dr. Reynaldo Macias, University of California Los Angeles, Dr. Julia Curry and Kathryn Blackmer Reyes, San Jose State University, for their unconditional support for the project’s completion. From the University of Wyoming, I thank College of Arts and Sciences Dean B. Oliver Walter for a basic research grant that helped move the project forward. Finalmente, un gran abrazo to Adrian H. Molina for providing first-rate editorial assistance during a crucial time in my professional career at the University of Wyoming.

CHAPTER 1

Re-Membering the Body: Spiritual Genealogy, Collective Memory, and Lost Histories in Delilah Montoya's *Codex Delilah*

Ann Marie Leimer, University of Redlands

INTRODUCTION

In 1992, the United States conducted a nationwide commemoration of the Quincentenary, the five-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus on the shores of the Americas. While the overall tenor of the observance remained laudatory regarding Columbus, his achievement, and the subsequent “settlement”¹ of the New World by Europeans, some Americans insisted that media and other popular representations of the official recognition elided important aspects of this historical moment and its aftermath. Protests and counterdemonstrations ranged from mild to militant with churches, schools, and indigenous and other activist groups critiquing the limited portrayal of the yearlong commemoration.

To combat the incomplete and misleading information circulated in the general media, groups throughout the nation organized teach-ins and other educational and cultural events. In San Francisco, the Mexican Museum presented an alternate view of the five centuries that elapsed

since Columbus' so-called "discovery." In an exhibit titled "The Chicano Codices: *Encountering*² Art of the Americas," Chicana/o artists throughout the United States produced works that simultaneously celebrated existing American civilizations and documented the effects of European occupation.³ By introducing these works into the public record, the exhibit contested the exclusion and erasure of the cultures and histories of those inhabiting the Americas at First Contact. Curator Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino⁴ also sought to work against the dispersal of the original pre-contact books to largely European private collections and libraries by amassing contemporary codices in an American museum space.⁵ Additionally, the artworks challenged the absence of representation of ancient cultures because the artists incorporated indigenous forms, symbols, and traditions in their artworks.

This essay investigates the reclamation and reconstruction of lost histories in visual representation and considers the imbrication and intersection of memory, spirituality, and the body in one of the works from this exhibition, a contemporary artist's book titled *Codex Delilah, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicatl to Chicana* (Fig. 1). Produced by photographer and print-maker Delilah Montoya in conjunction with the late poet and playwright Cecilio García-Camarillo,⁶ *Codex Delilah* is a seven page screenfold book



Figure 1. Delilah Montoya, *Codex Delilah, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicatl to Chicana*, 1992, Gouache on amate paper, Mixed media, 20 x 80 x 13 _ in.

Photograph: M. Lee Fatherree. Copyright Delilah Montoya. Used by permission of the artist.

that illustrates a transformative journey conducted by a fictional indigenous girl named Six-Deer. Montoya modeled her artwork primarily after the formal conventions of the *Dresden Codex*, a pre-Contact Maya book that contains both images and glyphic texts (Maya writing). The artist adopted various ancient Mesoamerican book traditions including the use of the screenfold form and multiple registers on each panel of the work.⁷ To structure the work's narrative, she used a quest for knowledge by the codex's central figure as the overarching trope, thereby illustrating the centrality of spirituality within *mestiza* life and revealing its importance throughout the codex's historical timeframe, a 600-year period. In the work, memory and spirituality overlap and embrace each other as the recollection of spiritual and everyday cultural practices demonstrates the influence and continuity of ancient healing practices and the histories of Mesoamerican peoples in contemporary society.⁸

Further, this essay discusses how Montoya uses memory to weave complex, vibrant histories from a fragmented, partially remembered past, how she reforms and recuperates the Chicana body through the depiction of iconic female figures, and how she retrieves and re-constructs the bodies of knowledge lost due to European contact through the creation of a spiritual genealogy. Seeking to discover how Montoya uses the body as a site for meaning, the work analyzes the characters found in three separate panels of the codex by examining their placement and relationship to each other within the composition as a whole, their pose or attitude, and the actions they perform.

THE BODY AS SITE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In the first panel of *Codex Delilah*, Montoya begins her visual narrative by portraying the malaise of Six-Deer,⁹ the work's central character. The child experiences a sense of "dis-ease," an awareness of a disharmony in her indigenous world of 1401 that leaves her fearful and confused. Soon to be initiated as a practitioner of her people's healing traditions, the girl approaches Ix-Chel, the village elder and *tlamatani* (counselor), and asks her advice. Ix-Chel charges Six-Deer to seek *Aztlán*¹⁰ where she promises the child will understand "the nature of all things."¹¹ From the first panel of the codex, Montoya embeds the narrative in a cross-cultural

Mesoamerican cosmology that maps spiritual meaning on the bodies she represents. She combines mythic figures, images, and languages from various Mesoamerican sites to construct a collective memory that consists of multiple locations and references, thereby providing a broad inclusiveness that refuses to honor or elevate one tradition or culture over another.

The artist produces this spiritual *mestizaje* by including Mayan and Central Mexican terms and concepts such as *Ometeótl*, *Omecihúatl*, *Ix-Chel*, and *Aztlán*.¹² First, on the codex's initial and final panels, the artist mentions a deity that represents the *Náhuatl* principle of duality, the Central Mexican god(s) *Ometeótl*, thereby framing the codex with a concern for the balance between opposite forces. *Ometeótl*, one god who contains both male and female aspects, the female procreator *Omecihúatl* and the male procreator *Ometecuhli*, represents the primordial human couple that brings humanity into existence. Mesoamerican cultures frequently link the Ancestral Couple to both the sacred calendar and the practices of healing and prophecy, aspects of spiritual expression that the artist emphasizes throughout the codex. Secondly, since Montoya places *Ix-Chel*, a character fashioned after a powerful figure from the Maya pantheon, on the first panel, her presence announces the codex's concern with healing and spirituality from its inception. In ancient representations, *Ix-Chel*, a Mayan Moon Goddess, appears as both a young and an old woman. In her aspect as elder, Mayan cosmology associates *Ix-Chel* with weaving, childbirth, and healing. Lastly, in a move that parallels *El Movimiento Chicano's*¹³ embrace of indigenous identity as the source of cultural *orgullo* (pride) and power for Chicanas/os, Montoya situates *Aztlán* as the culmination of Six-Deer's pilgrimage. By positioning *Aztlán* as the source of spiritual knowledge and power for the child, the artist embeds spirituality into geographic space and implicates the earth as living body of wisdom and spiritual sustenance.

Montoya uses this evocation of place interlaced with spiritual power to foreground the construction of the codex's individual characters and to demonstrate spiritual values and beliefs. She stages *Ix-Chel's* body to illustrate a consciously attended balance of power between adult and child. Montoya illustrates the elder woman inhabiting the space equally with Six-Deer and physically positions the elder on Six-Deer's level. In every instance we see *Ix-Chel* adjusting her adult size to the child in order to experience the world

from Six-Deer's point of view (Fig. 2). IxChel's position indicates a sense of shared power, an awareness of holding and extending power between adult and child, teacher and student, rather than power *over*.¹⁴



Figure 2. Delilah Montoya, Codex Delilah, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicalt to Chicana, 1992,

Gouache on amate paper, Mixed media, 20 x 80 x 13 _ in.

Detail of Panel 2, Register 2.

Photograph: Copyright Ann Marie Leimer 2004.

Artwork: Copyright Delilah Montoya.

This awareness of the nuances of power identifies Ix-Chel as the ancient forebear of the healing specialization or spiritual practice of *curanderismo*.¹⁵ Artist, psychologist, and scholar Amelia Mesa-Bains describes the healing tradition in this way.

The dominance of a worldview that rejects the separation of mind and body among Mexicanos is manifested in the ongoing traditions of *curanderismo* where the emotional psychic state of the individual expresses itself in the ills of the body. Such bodily ills are often seen to be a result of the social situation of the individual and include references between the particular psychological stress and the particular part of the body.¹⁶

In her role as teacher and spiritual visionary, Ix-Chel's body contains the traditional healing knowledges, customs, and practices of her village. She possesses the knowledge of restoring harmony and balance to the body of a patient, to the body of a people, and to the body of the earth. Present at births, deaths, and all the physical sufferings and spiritual afflictions in between, she also carries in her memory the histories of the community. She epitomizes body as repository and becomes the living archive of the

collective memory of the history, culture, and somatic and psychic life of people as individuals and as a group. Therefore, she symbolizes the living embodiment of healing practices and altepetl¹⁷ histories, not only of her village, but also of indigenous peoples throughout the Americas.

When Ix-Chel charges the young girl with her quest for self-realization, she declares “*Tienes que ir a Aztlán*” (“You must go to Aztlán”). Then she points Six-Deer northward and places a turquoise necklace containing a flint (stone knife) around her neck. The village elder informs the child that all of their people’s healers have worn this flint or tecpatl. With this ritual of blessing and protection, Ix-Chel initiates the construction of a spiritual genealogy within the codex, includes the child as an integral part of its lineage, and symbolically transmits to Six-Deer the collective memory of their people.

THE BODY AS SITE OF DESIRE, VIOLENCE, AND REDEMPTION

In the second panel of *Codex Delilah*, Six-Deer encounters a conflated figure from the Mexicana/o/Chicana/o pantheon that merges aspects of the Wailing Woman (La Llorona) with Malintzin Tenépal, Hernán Cortés’ translator, also known as Doña Marina, Malinalli, and La Malinche (Fig. 3). Montoya names her version of these *personajes* (characters) LloralLloral-Malinche.¹⁸ Throughout the second register of this panel, the artist repeat-



Figure 3. Delilah Montoya, *Codex Delilah*, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicalt to Chicana, 1992.

Gouache on amate paper, Mixed media, 20 x 80 x 13 _ in.

Detail of Panel 2, Register 2. Photograph: Copyright Ann Marie Leimer 2004.

Artwork: Copyright Delilah Montoya.

edly places Lloras¹⁹ body in various poses that communicate intense suffering. In frenzied anguish, she pulls her hair and repeatedly cries out “Mis hijos” (My children”), but ultimately searches in vain for her lost children. Her body becomes a channel for the expression of intense emotion, her torment evident in its extreme physical tension.

Finally, her body and spirit exhausted from their performance of grief, the artist pictures her completely spent, dropped in a catatonic heap in the lower right-hand side of the composition.

In contrast, Montoya portrays Six-Deer only twice in this panel, giving the weight of representation to Lloras. A bewildered but empathetic witness, Six-Deer stands on the far left side of the composition physically overwhelmed by the immensity of the other woman’s suffering. The child’s footprints map a path through various images of the Conquest that chart the destruction and violence she witnesses as she travels through *Tenochtitlán*, the capital city and center of the *Mexica* empire. We see her again in the upper right hand corner of the register glancing down and touching her belly in a gesture that emphasizes an important consequence of this panel’s events.

Montoya’s use of Lloras produces the female body as a conflicted site of desire, transgression, and creativity. This character embodies Woman²⁰ in multiple states: as sexually realized, as mature and procreative, as sexually betrayed and abandoned, and as sexually violated. Within the conflation of La Malinche and La Llorona, each persona contains a dual aspect; woman as transgressor and transgressed, as betrayer and betrayed. If we consider Lloras in her aspect as La Malinche, several descriptions recount that Malintzin lived a privileged life as a member of a noble family until her mother remarried. Wishing to ensure the ascension to rulership by her son from this second marriage, Malintzin’s mother sought to displace her firstborn daughter’s birthright and sold her into slavery. Betrayed by her mother, Malintzin later purportedly “betrays” her people when she assumes the role of *lengua* (tongue/translator) for Hernán Cortés. Understood in many accounts and representations as the bringer of death and destruction to Mesoamerica and its peoples, Malintzin, as abandoned child and transgressed adolescent, then allegedly becomes the transgressor.

In its dual role as transgressed and transgressor, Llorona's body implies sexual desire, although not necessarily hers. In her aspect as La Malinche, she represents the object of male gaze, desire, and violence. Understood as the symbol of a raped womanhood, this character embodies the pain, rage, and anguish of sexualized violence. Although Montoya emphasizes Llorona in her altered state of grief for her children, one can also view this performance of anguish as the aftermath of sexual assault. Whether the historical La Malinche was a victim of sexual violence or not, she symbolizes the multitudes of women of color who experienced this brutal transgression during the Conquest, and those who experience it today.

Llorona's concurrent status as betrayed and betrayer parallels the similar construction of La Llorona. If we consider Llorona in her aspect as La Llorona, the generally accepted story positions her as an indigenous woman living a contented life with her Conquistador lover/husband and their three children, a life that indicates sexual desire and possibly, fulfillment on her part. Her husband abandons her for an upper class Spanish woman and, in a moment of desperation, La Llorona drowns their children. When she takes her children's lives, she crosses from transgressed or betrayed woman and simultaneously embodies the role of transgressor and betrayer of the protective responsibility of motherhood.

Sexual longing and contact, whether reciprocal or not, can transform the female body from the site of desire to the site of creation. Montoya imagines the bodies of the female characters in Panel 2 in their procreative aspect. In this panel's third register, Llorona advises Six-Deer that she carries a child stating, "All is lost, but I can tell you're carrying the child of the invaders." "What are you saying?" asks the perplexed Six-Deer. "What you heard. I can see what others can't."²¹ With these words, Llorona enacts the ritual transmission of the bodies of knowledge regarding pregnancy and childbirth from one generation of women to another and performs her role in the codex's spiritual genealogy. Held deep in the body's memory, spiritual practices and other cultural traditions related to childbearing pass by word of mouth from mother to daughter, from *tía* to *sobrina*, from older sister to younger sister, and prepare each initiate for the process of pregnancy and the act of birth.

Montoya uses this moment in the narrative to recuperate the traditional viewpoint that regards La Malinche as betrayer of her people. The artist positions La Malinche within the codex as the sixth portent²² of the Aztecs,²³ a series of eight ominous signs that foretold future disaster. In this way, she frees La Malinche from the heavy burden of traitor. While Montoya chronicles the destruction of indigenous peoples and their ways of life as a result of the Conquest, the artist does not blame Llorona. Instead, she emphasizes the creation of the *mestiza/o* as a redemptive act contributed by the bodies of La Malinche, La Llorona, and Six-Deer. Montoya illustrates Llorona cautioning the child, “Love your child of mixed bloods for he is the new race who will survive and populate the land.”²⁴

Montoya included this idea in *Codex Delilah* at the urging of Cecilio García-Camarillo who felt it important to acknowledge the new race born from this historical moment. García-Camarillo and Montoya viewed the creation of the *mestiza/o* as a “gift” and the artist based her depiction of this event on a family story. When one of the artist’s sisters was nearly six years old, she began walking about the house with her upper body curled forward and her arms cradled around her belly. When Montoya’s mother asked the girl what she was doing, Montoya’s sister replied, “Mom, I’m protecting my babies!” Montoya wanted to convey this sense of youthful naivety and characterized Six-Deer’s response to her pregnancy from this point of view. Six-Deer replicates the pose of Montoya’s sister in the upper right corner of the second register (Fig. 3). The artist intended Six-Deer as the “symbolic carrier of the new race” and considered her the point of genesis for contemporary Chicanas. Recognizing that, “We were born out of the Conquest, out of Nepantla,” Montoya honored rather than denigrated this result of the indigenous-European “encounter.”²⁵

THE BODY AS SITE OF SACRIFICE: CARNAL(ITY) AND COMMUNITAS

In the sixth panel of *Codex Delilah*, Six-Deer meets La Velia, a thinly veiled reference to New Mexican community organizer and indigenous activist Velia Silva, since Silva posed for the photographs Montoya used in this section of the codex. Montoya transforms Silva into a 1960s Chicana activist and situates this panel’s events in 1969 at the height of

the Chicano Movement (Fig. 4). Six-Deer begins her journey through this register in the upper left-hand side. Here she discovers La Velia and extends an arm in greeting, while La Velia returns the gesture with a hearty “Hello, *compañera* (companion).” When Six-Deer asks for directions to Aztlán, La Velia remains illusive, stating that some consider Aztlán a state of mind.²⁶ Six-Deer learns about the farmworker movement from the activist and decides to accompany her on a *peregrinación* (pilgrimage) to Santa Fe on behalf of striking chile pickers.

Montoya pictures both La Velia and Six-Deer actively moving through the space against a background of protesting figures that echo shouts of



Figure 4. Delilah Montoya, *Codex Delilah, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexicatl to Chicana*, 1992.

Gouache on amate paper, Mixed media, 20 x 80 x 13 in.

Detail of Panel 6, Register 2. Photograph: Copyright Ann Marie Leimer 2004. Artwork: Copyright Delilah Montoya.

“Huelga” (Strike) and “Ya Basta” (It Is Enough). Appearing twice in the visual narrative, La Velia carries a wooden or cardboard box, suggesting both a platform where she makes impromptu speeches and a container that transports the produce picked by farmworkers. In Panel 6, Six-Deer’s body projects an increased confidence and a growing sense of power resulting from the assertion of her agency. Montoya depicts the child repeatedly in the center lower third of the panel. On the lower left side, she raises her fist in support of the farmworkers’ cause. Immediately to the right, she appears again, looks directly at the viewer with a broad smile, and clasps her hands in delight. Finally, she travels to the upper

right-hand corner, balanced in size and position with her initial image on the register's opposite side. Here, Six-Deer faces to the right, still smiling. A lone footprint marks the path she will take. She lifts her chin and strides confidently out of the panel.

Within the context of *El Movimiento Chicano*, what kinds of meanings does the artist map on the bodies of La Velia and Six-Deer? Mesa-Bains states that, despite the conquest and the annexation of Mexico by the United States as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, contemporary cultural practices in the United States contain an awareness of the Chicana/o body as both individual and collective. This awareness arises from the holistic base of *curanderismo* and illustrates a remnant of memory from indigenous and colonial times.²⁷ By juxtaposing the terms *carnal* and *communitas*, I now discuss the concepts of body, spirituality, and sacrifice as symbolized by the figures of La Velia and Six-Deer.

The English word “carnal” refers to the body, its sensual needs and desires, while the Spanish word contains additional layers of meaning. Because of *El Movimiento Chicano*’s emphasis on collective identity and the connection between members of *la raza* (the Mexican race), the term *car-nalismo*, or brotherhood, re-circulated and gained increasing favor in the late 1960s. Four decades later, Chicanos still use the term *carnal* as a slang expression to describe and identify a close male bond of friendship. For example, a typical greeting between friends might be, “*Orale, carnal*” (“O.K.” or “Right on, brother!”). José Limón points out the multiple dimensions of the term and the connection between meat, the body, maleness, and machismo in the Chicano imagination in his work on South Texas Mexican-American life.²⁸

In addition to political ideology, existing social structures encourage collective responsibility and support close connections between men that blur the distinction between individual and collective bodies. *Compadrazgo*, a practice with indigenous roots, continues today throughout Mexico and Greater Mexico.²⁹ Used in indigenous and *mestiza/o* societies as a means of social control and to increase community stability, *compadres* were often chosen because of their social status and financial resources. Various life cycles rituals including baptism, First Communion,

confirmation, *los quince años*, and marriage provided opportunities for the creation of larger family network, termed a “fictive kinship system.”³⁰ Most often initiated at a child’s baptism, this practice consists of a lifelong commitment between the child’s father and another male in the community, often a family member or close friend. During the baptismal ritual, the men become *compadres*, pledged partners dedicated to the spiritual and financial well being of the child, with the father’s friend assuming the position of padrino or godfather. Still practiced today, men do refer to each other as *compadres* without the official responsibility of *compadrazgo*.

If men have *carnal* and *compadre* to mark significant relationships and reflect a sense of somatic interdependence, what terms reflect significant relationships between women? Initially practiced only between men, the practice of *compadrazgo* later extended to women as *comadrazgo*. Like *compadres*, *comadres* pledge themselves at baptisms, confirmations, and weddings and form a special bond of responsibility dedicated to the child’s welfare. If not already a family member, the *madrina* (godmother) assumes a critical role through this practice and becomes a member of the extended family body. Like men, women may also refer to close friends as *comadre* and *comadrita* to describe a special friendship without the official pledge of *comadrazgo*. Other expressions that reflect connections between women include *compañera*, as in *una buena compañera* (a good companion/comrade) or *buena amiga mía* (my good friend).

Significantly, as Amalia Mesa-Bains has observed, women use the nuanced descriptor of *carnal* in its female form, *carnala*, to describe their close friendship or kinship bonds.³¹ I suggest that affectional relationships between women imply a *carnal(ity)*, a shared knowledge based in the physical experience of the female body. Expressed at the level of body, this shared sense of self forges a sisterhood that demonstrates a connection to historical memory and women’s relationship to the earth. The bond of *carnalismo* (sisterhood) imbricates flesh, land, and spirituality by recalling the memory of ancient sacrificial practices conducted as a means to guarantee the community’s welfare. In many Mesoamerican traditions, people offered droplets of blood or the body in its entirety to their deities to maintain the balance of the universe and to ensure the regeneration of the earth. Roberta and Peter Markman explain,

Metaphorically the sacrifice of life's blood, that is, returning life to its spiritual source, was necessary for the continuation of the endless cycle of transformations through which life was constantly created and maintained. Human beings, helpless without the gods, must sacrifice their blood in return for the continuation of the rains, the growth of the corn, and the healing of illnesses.³²

Later, a further layer of historical and spiritual memory where community, sacrifice, and the body intersect developed during Mexico's Colonial period. At that time, ancient spiritual practices blended with newly imposed Catholic practices. The sacrament of Holy Communion, celebrated as part of the Catholic Mass, ritually reenacts Christ's shedding of blood for the redemption of sinners and parallels the ancient Mesoamerican rituals discussed earlier. During an act of consecration within the Mass, known as the Transubstantiation, the priest ritually transforms the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Members of the congregation then consume these humble materials and absorb God's body into their own. Thus, the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, given in service to the community of believers, symbolically intertwines with ancient and contemporary rites.

Ancient sacrificial ceremonies conducted on behalf of the community constitute a historical memory, evoked and brought forward in time. Updated within today's contemporary urban locations, *carnalas* proclaim the connection between themselves, their communities, and the earth when they mark their bodies with symbols that demonstrate their allegiance to a specific *barrio* (neighborhood).³³ The carving of place in the skin and on the surface of the body through the process of tattooing demonstrates their willingness to dedicate their flesh (and blood) on behalf of their sisters and their communities.

In his discussion of bodily practices as part of the process of memory, Paul Connerton differentiates between two forms of social practice he terms "incorporating" and "inscribing."³⁴ According to Connerton, a social practice that incorporates memory consists of current actions performed by the body, either by individuals or groups, while an inscribing practice requires a site for the accumulation and recovery of information. He cites

the archiving and storing of written information within familiar contemporary sites such as photographs, computers, and audiotapes as exemplars of inscribing practices. In addition to enacting a ritual that dedicates their physical selves to their comrades and local group, I suggest that the tattooing of place upon the skin by contemporary *cholas* or *carnalas* forms another practice of inscription as defined by Connerton that functions to preserve historical and spiritual memory.

Now, I would like to complicate this discussion of *carnal(ity)*, posited as an embodied expression of sisterhood or brotherhood that implicates sacrifice, by overlaying Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*. In 1908, Arnold Van Gennep first articulated his ideas regarding the structure of rituals, termed rites of passage, and delineated three stages these rituals contained as 1) separation, 2) liminality, and 3) return or reincorporation.³⁵ The second stage of this process, liminality, refers to the *limen*, or threshold, that represents the crossing from one role, one position, or one state of consciousness to another. Within this state of transition, Turner uses the Latin word *communitas* to describe "a relation quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances."³⁶ I suggest that when Six-Deer and La Velia make a political pilgrimage to Santa Fe in support of the organizing struggles of New Mexican farmworkers, they experience a form of *communitas*, "spontaneous *communitas*," a special sense of connection to each other, to those who march with them, and to the larger Chicana/o community that arises specifically because of their concern for others. Further, La Velia, the instrument whose wisdom and example connects Six-Deer to the collective Chicana/o body, forms another aspect of *Codex Delilah's* spiritual genealogy.

Particularly pertinent to my discussion is Turner's consideration of identity as a fundamental part of *communitas*.

In our society, it seems that the small groups which nourish *communitas*, do so by withdrawing voluntarily from the mainstream...The social category becomes the basis of recruitment. People who are similar in one important characteristic - sex, age, ethnicity, religion....withdraw symbolically, even actually from the total system,

from which they may in various degrees feel themselves “alienated,” to seek the glow of *communitas* among those with whom they share some cultural or biological feature they take to be their most signal mark of identity.³⁷

Turner develops his concept of spontaneous *communitas* as part of a larger, more formal construction, termed “ideological *communitas*.”

Developing from a base of spontaneous *communitas*, ideological *communitas* helps form “an utopian blue print for the reform of society.”³⁸ Six-Deer and La Velia then represent Turner’s notion of ideological *communitas* and express the rapport among those who participated in *El Movimiento Chicano*, those who helped forge a community based on connection to each other with sacrifice at its base. In *Codex Delilah*, La Velia symbolizes a Chicana Everywoman who reflects this understanding of body as individual and collective. As such, she represents the untold effort of women who struggled for basic needs of peoples of Mexican descent within *El Movimiento Chicano* and beyond. When La Velia and Six-Deer march to Santa Fe on behalf of striking chile pickers, they not only embody the *concept* of sacrifice but their bodies become the *site* of sacrifice as well.

La Velia and Six-Deer’s willingness to forego bodily comfort for the betterment of the community parallels sacrifices made by contemporary Chicana activists. Dolores Huerta dramatically illustrates this parallel. Huerta, co-founder with César and Helen Chávez of the United Farm Workers Union, epitomizes the concept of embodied sacrifice in the service of community. In 1989, in front of the Sir Francis Drake, one of San Francisco’s elegant Union Square hotels, Huerta staged a protest against President George Bush, Sr.’s policies on pesticides. In a demonstration that turned ugly, the San Francisco policemen severely beat Huerta along with other protestors. She suffered several broken ribs, required emergency surgery, and ultimately, lost her spleen.³⁹ Like Dolores Huerta, La Velia and a budding Six-Deer embody contemporary expressions of sacrifice that imbricate *carnal*(ity) and *communitas* while paralleling Mesoamerican spiritual practices effected to ensure the continuity and well-being of a people.

CONCLUSION

By examining the performance, portrayal, and symbolic value of the female bodies within Delilah Montoya's *Codex Delilah*, this essay analyzed the intersection of the body, memory, and spirituality. The work positioned these bodies as archive of community history and tradition; of violation, creativity, and redemption; and as the site of sacrifice and community. Through the use of memory, the artist reconstructed the indigenous female body, its contemporary Chicana figuration, and the wisdom these physical sites contain. Through the recuperation of the Chicana body, Montoya establishes a lineage of female healers of the physical and spiritual body thereby constructing a spiritual genealogy for contemporary Chicanas/os that visually connects ancient traditions with present practices. In this way, Montoya's codex forms a cumulative historical narrative of peoples, sites, and practices while serving as a storage system for a body of knowledge remembered, reinvented, and reconstructed. Reassembling the "bodies of knowledge" torn apart by the Conquest as per-formative location and as metaphor, Montoya's work creates a site for an alternate representation of the ignored or exoticized Indígena/Mexicana/Chicana body. The artist's imagination recuperates and preserves traditional wisdom suppressed or destroyed by European contact through the creation of a female hero, Six-Deer. This character constitutes a living archive of embodied knowledge that functions as repository for the collective memories of indigenous peoples.

Further, the *Codex Delilah* forms a body itself. The material piecing together of the codex, through the use of photographic inserts and scraps of torn paper attached to its surface, mimes the parallel construction or reconstruction of the re-membered histories and traditions illustrated in the artwork. This body, a repository of affect, events, and memories, provides a source for continuing histories and a site for the creation of new memories. Ultimately, in its role as body, I suggest that the artwork can function as a site of healing, serving to repair the ruptured, violated, Chicana/o body and recover the grievous losses initiated at First Contact. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto has stated that the artists of ancient indigenous cultures "...had a sacred mission: to empower and sanctify the masses through their creations."⁴⁰ Just as Six-Deer seeks healing for her people,

so Delilah Montoya provides this gift for the larger community through her artwork, an artwork that carries on the sacred mission of pre-Contact books. Activated by the viewing process, *Codex Delilah* can involve the viewer in a ritual of *limpienza* or cleaning and may provide a collective cure to restore harmony to the fragmented Chicana/o psyche and soma.

Endnotes

I first wrote this essay in the spring of 2002 and submitted it to NACCS for the consideration of the Frederick A. Cervantes Premio in the fall of 2003. The initial version served as the inspiration for my longer work on *Codex Delilah* completed in 2005. During this interval, I conducted the additional research and writing that informs this revision of the original Frederick A. Cervantes Premio essay. For additional discussions of *Codex Delilah* by this author, please see Ann Marie Leimer, "Crossing the Border with La Adelita: Lucha-Adelucha as Nepantlera in Delilah Montoya's *Codex Delilah*," *Chicana/Latina Studies* 5:2 (Spring 2006); Ann Marie Leimer, "Performing the Sacred: The Concept of Journey in *Codex Delilah*" (Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2005).

1 Since the influx of Europeans on these shores was uninvited, I think the terms "occupation" or "invasion" reflect a more accurate description of these acts rather than "settlement."

2 In much of the published material associated with the exhibit, the seven-letter section "counter" of the word "encounter" was italicized to emphasize the exhibition's aim to oppose Quincentenary festivities that applauded European arrival while negating the importance of indigenous peoples and their ways of life. Due to the convention of using italics to indicate book titles, many readers miss this critical concept articulated by the exhibition's curator, Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino.

3 Patricia Draher, ed., *The Chicano Codices: Encountering Art of the Americas* (San Francisco: The Mexican Museum, 1992).

4 Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino has made significant contributions to the field of Chicana/o art history through his curatorial practices and publications. He was the project co-coordinator with Holly Barnet-Sanchez for CARA, *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985*, as well as a member of CARA's National Selection Committee. He also served as the first Executive Director of MACLA (Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana) in San José, California. CARA was the first large-scale exhibit of Chicana/o art produced by the joint effort of a national committee of Chicana/o scholars, artists, and administrators and a mainstream art institution, UCLA's Wight Art Gallery. Considered a groundbreaking exhibition, it took six years to produce, toured nationally for three years, and brought previously marginalized works to a broader public. Please see Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, "The Mestizo Head: Alchemical Image of the Chicano Coniunctio" (Pacifica Graduate Institute, 2001), Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, "Mi Casa No Es Su Casa: Chicano Murals and Barrio Calligraphy as Systems of Signification at Estrada Courts, 1972-1978" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, "Murales Del Movimiento: Chicano Murals and the

Discourses of Art and Americanization,” in *Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals*, ed. Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and SPARC, 1999), Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino and John Tagg, “The Pachuco’s Flayed Hide: The Museum, Identity, and Buenas Garras,” in *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985*, ed. Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano (Los Angeles: Wight Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991). For the CARA exhibition catalog, please see Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, eds., *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985* (Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991). For an in-depth analysis of the exhibit, see Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art Inside/Outside the Master’s House: Cultural Politics and the Cara Exhibition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998). Sanchez-Tranquilino works as a Depth psychotherapist and continues to write on Chicano Art History in the Pacific Northwest.

5 In this essay, I respectfully adopt the practice of using accents on non-English words and names where appropriate. In previously published works, Sanchez-Tranquilino has requested no accent be used when spelling his name and I follow this directive.

6 Cecilio García-Camarillo, poet, playwright, publisher, editor, and tireless advocate of flor y canto (flower and song), died from cancer at the age of 58 on January 16, 2002, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Born in Laredo, Texas, he received a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature from the University of Texas at Austin in 1967, and later moved to Albuquerque in 1977 where he made his home. Nicknamed “The Chicano Renaissance Man,” García-Camarillo mentored young Chicana/o writers and was a key figure in the literary arm of El Movimiento Chicano (the movement for social justice for Chicanas/os that began in the 1960s). He founded and edited the literary magazine *Caracol* along with *El Magazín* and *Rayas* and produced numerous chapbooks of his poetry. Also known as “Xilo,” García-Camarillo founded Albuquerque’s weekly radio program “Espejos de Aztlán” on KUNM 89.9 FM and served as dramaturg for La Compañía de Teatro de Albuquerque. Delilah Montoya and García-Camarillo enjoyed a decades-long friendship and collaborative artistic partnership as evidenced by Codex Delilah and other projects such as *Crickets In My Mind* (1992). In *I Am Joaquín*, an important early work from El Movimiento Chicano, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzáles (June 18, 1928–April 12, 2005) declared, “There are no revolutions without poets.” Certainly, Xilo was one of the important poetic voices who furthered the Chicana/o movement’s quest for justice, access to resources, and increased representation. Please see Cecilio García-Camarillo and Enrique LaMadrid, *Selected Poetry of Cecilio García-Camarillo* (Houston: Arte-Publico, 2000), Cecilio García-Camarillo, Roberto Rodríguez, and Patrisia Gonzáles, eds., *Cantos Al Sexto Sol: An Anthology of Aztlanahuac Writings* (San Antonio: Wings Press, 2002), Carmen Tafolla, “Semillas, a Tribute to Cecilio García Camarillo,” *El Aviso* 4:1 (Spring 2002).

7 *Codex Delilah* consists of seven rectangular panels folded accordion-style with the each panel’s height approximately four times its width. Every panel has three horizontal registers of unequal size that contain painted and transferred images. Each panel also contains hand-written and computer generated texts. The top or first panel holds Mayan cosmological figures while the second and largest panel visually

tells the story of Six-Deer's journey. Montoya inserted color photographs at the bottom of the second registers that portray where the action occurs. She placed the computer-generated texts developed with García-Camarillo in the codex's third registers. The texts identify the work's characters and describe each panel's events.

8 For a recent publication that discusses this continuity, see Jean Molesky-Poz, *Contemporary Maya Spirituality: The Ancient Ways Are Not Lost*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

9 Montoya adopted her central character's name, Six-Deer, from Eight Deer Tiger Claw, the Mixtec ruler chronicled in the Codex Zouche Nuttall. For more information on Mixtec codices and this important ruler, see Bruce E. Byland and John M. D. Pohl, in *The Realm of Eight Deer: The Archaeology of the Mixtec Codices* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), Zelia Nuttall, ed., *The Codex Nuttall: A Picture Manuscript from Ancient Mexico* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975), John M. D. Pohl, *The Politics of Symbolism in the Mixtec Codices* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1994).

10 Aztlán is the place of origins or homeland of the Mexica, also termed Aztecs, one of the indigenous peoples of Central Mexico. Understood as paradise, it is also known as the Place of Whiteness or the Place of the White Herons.

11 *Codex Delilah, Six-Deer: Journey from Mexica to Chicana*, 1992, art produced by Delilah Montoya and text written with Cecilio García-Camarillo, Panel 1, Register 3.

12 I italicize the word *Ix-Chel* when I discuss the figure from Mayan cosmology. When I refer to Montoya's character from Panel 1 of the codex, I do not italicize the name.

13 El Movimiento Chicano was the movement for social justice for Chicano/as that began in the 1960s.

14 In *Latina Healers*, Espín refers to this stewardship of power by and among females, especially those involved in healing practices, as "power to rather than power over" (emphasis added). She argues that the increased self-esteem and self-worth experienced by female healers creates a greater sense of control over their lives. This personal empowerment leads to an expanded sensitivity in the use of power, rather than to its exploitation. See Olivia M. Espín, *Latina Healers: Lives of Power and Tradition* (Encino: Floricanto Press, 1996), 109-12.

15 Curanderismo, or Mexican and Mexican-American folk medicine, treats the patient through a consideration of the person's relationship to their family and community and addresses individual symptoms with prayer, herbal remedies, massage, and other healing practices. For more information, see Jacques M. Chevalier and Andrés Sánchez Bain, *The Hot and the Cold: Ills of Humans and Maize in Native Mexico* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), Ari Kiev, *Curanderismo: Mexican-American Folk Psychiatry* (New York: Free Press, 1968), Alfredo López Austin, *Textos de medicina náhuatl*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975), Diana Ryesky, *Conceptos Tradicionales De La Medicina En Un Pueblo Mexicano: Un Análisis Antropológico* (Mexico, D. F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Dirección General de Divulgación, 1976), Eliseo Torres, *The Folk Healer: The Mexican-American Tradition of Curanderismo* (Kingsville: Nieves

Press, 1983), Robert T. Trotter and Juan Antonio Chavira, *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Healing*, 2nd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

16 Amalia Mesa-Bains, "Chicano Bodily Aesthetics," in *Body/Culture: Chicano Figuration*, ed. Elizabeth Partch (Rohnert Park: Sonoma State University, 1990), 7. Like our physical bodies, the earth's soma (body) manifests injury and imbalance. In the codex, Montoya imagines the earth as female and Six-Deer attempts to restore the earth's harmony by healing its (her) dis-ease.

17 Altepetl annals are localized community histories from Central Mexico. See Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Aztec Altepetl Annals," in *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 187, 237.

18 This could be understood as "Cry-Cry-Malinche," a name that references both the grief visited upon the peoples of Mesoamerica by La Malinche's supposed participation with Cortés and the grief expressed by La Llorona at the loss of her children.

19 For ease of use, I abbreviate the character's name to Llorona.

20 The so-called universal category of "woman" has been widely critiqued by gender theorists. See Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex,"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

21 *Codex Delilah*, 1992, Panel 2, Register 3.

22 Telephone conversation with Delilah Montoya, October 2001. *The Florentine Codex* is a series of twelve volumes produced by indigenous scribes and artists post-Conquest under the direction of Spanish friars. In the twelfth book, Sahagún's informants recall numerous omens that foretold the coming of the Spanish. "The sixth bad omen: The people heard a weeping woman night after night. She passed by in the middle of the night, wailing and crying out in a loud voice: "My children, we must flee far away from this city!" At other times she cried: "My children, where shall I take you?" Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain, Florentine Codex: Vol. 12: The Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 2nd ed. (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1975), 1.

23 Aztecs is the common misnomer for the Mexica people, first used by the Prussian naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Historian William H. Prescott circulated the term in William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (London: George Routledge, 1874). Harper Brothers first published the book in 1843.

24 *Codex Delilah*, 1992, Panel 2, Register 3.

25 I have taken the information and quotes contained in this paragraph from conversations between the artist and myself on 19 February 2005 in Atlanta, Georgia.

26 *Codex Delilah*, 1992, Panel 6, Register 3.

27 Mesa-Bains, "Chicano Bodily Aesthetics," 7-8.

28 José Limón, *Dancing with the Devil: Society and Cultural Poetics in Mexican-American South Texas* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 136-38.

29 Américo Paredes created the term “Greater Mexico” to describe the geographic territories within Mexico and the United States where people of Mexican descent embrace an identity rooted in Mexicanness. See Américo Paredes, *With a Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), 129-30.

30 Norma Williams analyzed life cycle rituals practiced by Mexican Americans in various Texas communities including Austin, Corpus Christi, and the Kingsville region and anchored her research in social and religious ceremonies related to birth, marriage, and death. Her work documents the impact of an increasingly urban Mexican American population on these rituals. For example, over time the expectations, duties, and choice of godparents in comadrazgo/compadrazgo practices have changed. She reports that rather than one couple sponsoring several children from the same family as previously seen, often the family currently chooses a wider range of spiritual sponsors that progressively include more members of the immediate family. Williams observes that, due to social mobility and the fluidity of modern life, maintaining relationships with friends proves more difficult than those with family members. Additionally, families no longer expect that comadres and compadres chosen from among friends will provide financial support for the sponsored child in the event of the parents' deaths. However, when families incorporate family members as godparents the expectation of spiritual and financial welfare still continues. See Norma Williams, “Chapter 2, Traditional Life-Cycle Rituals among Mexican Americans in Texas,” in *The Mexican American Family: Tradition and Change* (Dix Hills, N.Y.: General Hall, Inc., 1990), Norma Williams, “Chapter 3, Changes in Life-Cycle Rituals and Family Life within the Working Class,” in *The Mexican American Family: Tradition and Change* (Dix Hills, N.Y.: General Hall, Inc., 1990). For information on the history and practices of compadrazgo in rural Tlaxcala, see Hugo G. Nutini and Betty Bell, *Ritual Kinship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

31 Mesa-Bains, “Chicano Bodily Aesthetics,” 8.

32 Roberta H. Markman and Peter T. Markman, *The Flayed God: The Mesoamerican Mythological Tradition: Sacred Texts and Images from Pre-Columbian Mexico and Central America* (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 180.

33 Mesa-Bains, “Chicano Bodily Aesthetics,” 9.

34 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 72-73.

35 Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 11, 21.

36 Victor Turner, “Liminal to Liminaloid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology,” in *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 20-60, Victor Turner, “Variations on a Theme of Liminality,” in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Meyerhoff (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1977), 46. Turner emphasizes that this communion exists between “equal individuals” in Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 96-97.

37 Turner, "Variations," 47.

38 Turner, "Variations," 46.

39 Huerta's subsequent lawsuit forced the San Francisco Police Department to develop new policies regarding the treatment of protesters.

40 Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Santa Barraza: A Borderland Chronicle," in *Santa Barraza: Artist of the Borderlands*, ed. Maria Herrera-Sobek (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001), 67-75.

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CHAPTER TWO

Lourdes Portillo's Development of a Chicana Feminist Film Aesthetic: *After the Earthquake*, *Las Madres*, and *Señorita Extraviada*

Norma A. Valenzuela, Arizona State University

In relation to Chicano cinema, film director Lourdes Portillo has broken with traditional works filmed mostly by men and has developed instead a new female perspective—one that is internationalist and questions male hegemony. In the near past, traditional cinema never gave Chicanas the roles they deserved. This was in part because Chicano filmmakers produced works that centered on the 1960s Chicano Power Movement. These Chicano male films used “forms of cultural production resolutely connected to the social and political activism of the Chicano Movement. Chicano films, for the first time ever, interjected onto the social/cultural imagination Chicano counter visions of history, identity, social reality, and resistance politics” (Fregoso *Bronze Screen* xiv).

Unfortunately, they gave the viewer a predominately male view, like the video *I Am Joaquín* (1975) made by El Teatro Campesino. Although this early cinema was in opposition to the hegemonic society, it focused on a patriarchal discourse that dramatized conflicts needing to be fought by Chicano men. In this cinema, women were not taken into consideration

or plainly excluded; generally, the Chicana was portrayed as depending on the man to fulfill their citizenship role in society.

The present research examines and analyzes three films in which the main themes deal with political questions, and at the same time, focuses on a female environment. Through her films, Lourdes Portillo establishes a new cinematographic aesthetic that presents an active consciousness which questions itself and emerges from within the female genre (Millán Moncayo, 1993, 123). Taking into account that Portillo began and has developed primarily as a movie director, I believe that she developed the following three elements in her films and she uses them with certain specificity: 1) cinematography markings (viewpoint, gender, the receptor—the textual receptor or the historic receptor), 2) narrative and dialogic language, and 3) domestic contextual differences. These elements are clearly delineated in the films *After the Earthquake* (1979), *Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo* (1986), and *Señorita Extraviada* (2001). Basing ourselves in the theoretical perspectives held by Margara Millán Moncayo (1998), B. Ruby Rich (1998), Amalia Mesa-Bains (2003), and Rosa Linda Fregoso (1993; 2001; 2003), we will be able to understand and analyze the films by Lourdes Portillo.

A FEMININE FILM AESTHETIC

In her article “Toward a Feminine Film Aesthetic?” Millán Moncayo (1998) clarifies the significance of aesthetics and the use of the female perspective in cinema. She discusses four main aspects in this perspective: feminine aesthetic, language, aesthetic intention, and sensibility of selection. She defends her position by stating that in order to establish a feminine aesthetic when creating films, there must be a definition of the political-ideological aspects:

Feminine cinema would be interested in discussing the women and the world from a woman's viewpoint. The spatial-temporal priorities are what determines this feminine view of the world, of thing, of feelings and relationships; alternating the order of the dominant representation a process of deconstruction of a certain cinematographic language. Cinema made by women should have first won that space; the

female-director should have confronted that difficult almost impossible task of saying “me” first in recognition of the female in the world of cinematographic creation. As in other fields, the history of feminism has had to first win the right to equality to be able to expand to the right of differences in this manner also the order of representation; another aspect is the deconstruction of the dominant idea of what it means to be feminine (125).

Furthermore, Millán Moncayo claims a polyvalent aspect in filmmaking, which has several levels and even its own language. She states:

In the specificity of the feminine cinematographic making one will first assume the polyvalence of being feminine in order to establish the first problem that of identity in regards to language, in this case cinematographic language. We propose that feminine identity is the determinant in relationship to the object produced as long as that identity is considered to be established in each particular case (122).

The article by Rich (1998), “An/Other View of New Latin American Cinema,” discusses the different stages that Latin American cinema has undergone and its impact on contemporary filmmaking. In its initial stage, “[i]t was an oppositional cinema at every level, self-consciously searching for new forms to embody new sentiments of a Latin American reality just being uncovered. It was a cinema dedicated to decolonizing, at every level, including, frequently, that of cinematic language. A cinema of necessity, it was different things in different countries” (Rich 130). This type of cinema was necessary because it dedicated itself to portraying the inhumane conditions in which people lived and whose lives had never been taken into consideration. It portrayed the other reality of Latin American society.

Rich discusses three films that were fundamental to this new type of cinema in Latin America and which impacted Lourdes Portillo and other Chicana filmmakers. First, Rich begins with the re-inversion of the Mexican revolutionary code by Matilde Landeta. In her 1949 film *La negra Angustias*, “[s]he laid the groundwork for the Latin American women’s films of the 1980’s, which began to incorporate women’s strug-

gles for identity and autonomy as a necessary part of truly contemporary New Latin American Cinema” (131). In this film, the daughter of a famous revolutionary is signaled out because she does not want to get married and maintains her *manly* ways past adolescence.

Second, in Landeta’s 1974 film *One Way or Another*, Sara Gómez criticizes the Latin American *machismo* attitude by presenting challenges through the use of psychological, experimental, and ideological terms, and by taking into consideration their sociological suppositions. This is the first time that we see a Latin American female openly criticize the contemporary Cuban patriarchal society.

Third, Rich argues that because of new democratic expression in Latin America, cinema has gone from being strictly revolutionary to revealing the human condition. In other words, Latin American cinema began revealing realities and truths that before had been silenced by military or revolutionary governments.

Amalia Mesa-Bains’ (2003) article, “Domesticana: The Sensibility of Chicana Rasquachismo,” discusses space and the selection of domestic objects in the female environment. She stresses that “for the Chicana artist, the position of the underdog and the strategy of making so is situated in the domestic. She employs the material of the domestic as she contests the power relations located within it. The visual production emerges from the everyday practices of women’s lives with style and humor” (302). The domestic space which Chicanas dwell is full of “home embellishments, home altar maintenance, healing traditions, and personal feminine pose and style” (302). This practice of feminine *rasquachismo* is used as an affirmation of the domestic practices in which the use of the altar signifies a certain type of power in the community.

In the article “Reproduction and Miscegenation on the Borderlands: Mapping the Maternal Body of Tejanas”, Rosa Linda Fregoso (2003) states that “in feminist film criticism, questions regarding female representation revolve around the cinematic mechanism of spectatorship and identification. There are two, often conflated notions of spectatorship relevant to [her] analysis of the white patriarchal gaze in the cinematic discourse of *Lone Star* [the film analyzed in this article]” (337).

Fregoso defines the first notion as dealing with what the feminist critics of cinematography title “the *hypothetical* or *textual* spectator, which is a concept used to refer to the textually inscribed position in the text, the position that the film offers as its ideal viewing position. The second notion of spectatorship is often called the “historical” or “empirical” spectator, that is, the spectator as an “actual” social subject who views the film at a particular moment in history” (337). In viewing Portillo’s films, we will apply this last notion of spectatorship.

AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE: TRADITIONAL VS. LIBERAL VALUES

In the film *After the Earthquake* (Portillo, 1979), the main theme is the conflict between home country traditional values and the liberal values of American society. Lourdes Portillo centers the plot of the film on Irene, the protagonist. In doing so, she accomplishes what Millán Moncayo (1998) states, that a new feminine cinema proposes to be different from ideological displacement and should be a feminine cinema, not a feminist one. It should channel the peculiar way of the feminine being more than a cinema intended to divulge feminism (123). The new cinema made by Chicanas no longer uses the traditional stereotype of the self-sacrificing woman, prostitute, manipulator or defenseless victim, and instead proposes a new feminine discourse.

This is exactly what Portillo does by portraying Irene in a new female role. Irene is a young woman that cleans homes in order to send her family money because they are still in Nicaragua. She lives in San Francisco in an immigrant community along with her aunts who still follow the traditional Latin American roles prescribed by patriarchal society. In one of the scenes, the aunts have placed a saint upside down so as to help Irene find a man to marry.

However, the aunts themselves are not married which means they themselves did not follow the traditional role assigned to women in their home country. Established through continuities of spiritual belief, pre-Hispanic in nature, the family altar functions for women “as a counterpoint to male-dominated rituals in Catholicism” (Mesa-Bains 302). From

her Chicana perspective and new feminine subjectivity, Portillo criticizes the roles prescribed to women which make her a prisoner. We see what Mesa-Bains classifies under the term *domesticana*: “the charge of subversion, interrogation, and deconstruction” (302).

In the first film scene we see Irene buying a television. This purchase is symbolic because it signifies that she has assimilated into a materialistic American society. At the same time, however, Portillo leads us to believe that this purchase is a form of independent thinking. That is, Irene has decided on her own to buy the television without an outside influence, proving to herself that she does not need anyone’s permission.

Furthermore, the film shows the conflict between immigrants already established here in the U.S. and recent incoming immigrants. Julio is Irene’s boyfriend, but she has not seen him for a couple of years. He was involved in political issues back in Nicaragua, which is why he had to come to the U.S. as a political exile. His arrival causes problems for Irene because she has to decide whether to marry him or continue her independent lifestyle. She has learned to cherish such a lifestyle and appreciate her independence and autonomy.

It is important to mention the fact that when Julio and Irene see each other after being apart for three years, the first thing out of Julio’s mouth is to ask why she cut her hair. This is significant because in this scene Portillo shows the extent of control by man over women. Irene’s new haircut is symbolic because it is another way of signaling her independence and that the female has the right to make her own choices. In these scenes we see that Portillo opts for a new feminist discourse in which the woman lives her own life and makes her own choices without the pressure of the society to which she belongs.

LAS MADRES AND SEÑORITA EXTRAVIDA: NEOREALISM THROUGH TESTIMONIALS

The film *Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo* (Portillo and Muñoz, 1986) is divided into various segments: 1) the mothers’ testimonies, 2) the testimonies of some of the disappeared that were returned,

and 3) the testimony of one of the pilots. These testimonies reveal the secrets of an oppressed society which was ruled by a military government. The format of the film is based on interviews of the people involved. These disappearances took place in Argentina during the takeover of the government by the military. Yet, the most powerful images are those of the photographs of the disappeared themselves. These young men and women were kidnapped because of their outspoken challenges against the government and the social injustices inflicted upon Argentinean society by the government. Their acts were considered subversive and the military government felt they had to be stopped before they got out of control and overthrew the government.

The shot of the first scene is very powerful because it focuses on the mothers marching on the plaza and screaming for justice, wanting to know where their sons and daughters are. The women's voices are full of sorrow and pain because they do not know what happened to their children. Portillo gives the viewer a historical account of the political times in order to situate the spectator and allow us to understand the reasons behind the kidnappings. Her interview format makes the film more personal and realistic because we hear actual family testimonies. The recreation of the actual events makes the spectator understand the frustration that the family feels when their child was kidnapped. By revealing these secrets, the spectator is informed and conscious of the terrible wrongdoings on the part of the military government. It is very important to point out that this film is narrated by a woman and that such a technique validates and authenticates the mothers' cause.

Furthermore, the shot of the mothers marching and the police in vigilant alert is very powerful because it creates tension on the part of the spectator, causing one to feel what the mothers must have felt during those moments. The white handkerchiefs worn by the Argentinean mothers are very symbolic because the color white represents peace. It is a peace that never came to the Mothers' lives because no one took responsibility for kidnapping their sons and daughters. The use of white handkerchiefs recalls the phenomena described by Mesa-Bains as *domesticana*. By wearing these white handkerchiefs, the mothers create a personal environment since this object [the white handkerchief] is typically reserved for the

home environment, but here it is displayed publicly to create a connection between the spectator and the mothers.

All the shots from the film are very stunning and astonishing because they clearly portray the events of those years. The buildings, where the kidnapped were kept, were already in ruins when Portillo filmed the documentary *Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*. Even more, the spectator is able to imagine the events that took place inside those walls where pregnant women gave birth to children that would later be given to military officials for adoption and where men and women suffered torture, among other atrocities. The film closes with shots of a new young generation asking for justice, just like their grandmothers did years before. At the very end, Portillo includes shots of mothers in other countries (El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala, Peru, Honduras, Lebanon) who ask for justice for their kidnapped sons and daughters. At this point, the spectator is transported to other countries that have suffered through such barbarities.

In *Señorita Extraviada* (2001), Portillo uses the same cinematographic technique developed in the film *Las Madres*. She interviews families and government officials to try to find the persons responsible for the kidnapping and murders of young Mexican women in Juarez, Mexico. In this film, Portillo deconstructs the official discourse of the Mexican government. This *machista* discourse blames women and denies the fact that, in reality, the young women are the victims of a patriarchal society that has ended their lives.

The desert shots are very significant because they point to the answers behind the killings. The girls' cadavers and clothing are found in these deserted fields. Portillo focuses on displaying shots of the shoes worn by these young women as a symbol that these young women are never coming home. In various scenes we see a young woman putting on a pair of shoes, and later we see a newspaper announcing the finding of another cadaver wearing the shoes previously shown in the film. Millán Moncayo describes this cinematographic technique in the following manner, "[T]he use of space, of the perspective, of colors, of the internal rhythm, of the sounds, of time and the contemplative vision and also of the takes and

shots are all part of the aesthetic of the specific work (126).” By taking into consideration this perspective, one can see the variation in the use of the aesthetic and how it is developed and defined. In this instance, we see Lourdes Portillo’s perspective.

The mothers of these young women question the government and local authorities regarding the murders of their daughters, but no one seems to care. Throughout the film, we see the photographs of the missing young women and the series creates a sense of desperation on the part of the spectator. We sense the ineptitude on part of the state and federal officials in charge of solving such murders. We become “the ‘historical’ or ‘empirical’ spectator, that is, the spectator as an ‘actual’ social subject who views the film at a particular moment in history” (337). One feels the uncertainty that the families feel through several shots of police cars: instead of feeling secure and confident, the victim’s families are afraid and fearful of these officials who are supposed to represent safety and security. Such feelings become more painful, especially after listening to the testimony of one woman who was raped in jail. She heard the police describing the kidnappings and also claims she saw photographs of the kidnapped women.

When describing the deaths and while taking shots of other young women, Portillo introduces background music of religious tones. This creates an aura of despair and a sensation that death is roaming the streets of Juarez. The use of this technique is important because as of today the murders of over 300 women have yet to be resolved and young women keep disappearing.

CONCLUSION

In these three films, Lourdes Portillo has created a new meaning to the creation of cinema. As a Chicana woman, she has contributed a different and renovating subjectivity to cinematography in the U.S. Her cinematic themes deal with political and social issues in and out of the U.S. In these films we clearly see the varying aesthetics used by this contemporary Chicana filmmaker.

We see that two of her films are neorealist because they portray the realities of two social groups through the use of the testimonial genre. Portillo is able to capture the realities of social and political issues in the use of testimonial interviews in *Señorita Extraviada* and *Las Madres*. In *After the Earthquake* she focuses on Irene, a young Hispanic woman with high aspirations and new perspectives who breaks away from the traditional female role. By portraying these varying aesthetics in her films, Portillo has been able to give voice to the female and has added a new perspective to the cinema traditionally written by men. She uses feminist discourses that are polyvalent and that authenticate the feminine aesthetic of the new Chicano cinema.

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CHAPTER THREE

On Grinding Corn and Plaiting Hair: Placing Tejanas and Black Texan Women in the Progressive Era

Lilia Raquel D. Rosas, The University of Texas at Austin

As they form corn dough,
As they shape tortillas in their palms.
Is theirs any history to collect?
This is what I ask.
But this much I already know:
They stand up when they must. They speak
Other truths—grinding corn.
About real power
—Teresa Palomo Acosta, “Grinding Corn”¹

I remember mama teaching me to plait my hair
one Saturday afternoon when chores were done

They sit quietly on the back porch steps,
Melinda plaiting Carla's hair
into a crooked braid

Older daughter
you are learning what I am learning:
to gather the strands together
with strong fingers,
to keep what we do
from coming apart at the ends.

—Harryette Mullen, "Saturday Afternoon, When
Chores Are Done"²

In these poems, Teresa Palomo Acosta and Harryette Mullen ask us to consider the sites of survival, struggle, and history-making in unlikely places. Their subtle and powerful poetry undercuts traditional notions of historical production and scholarship by stressing the importance of the stories, experiences, and realities of Tejanas and black Texan women.³ Tejana poet Teresa Acosta, in particular, directly addresses how academic and dominant discourses selectively remember and record certain actors and deeds over the acts and words of other, often "marginal," "lesser," individuals. Mullen also, but more implicitly, suggests, that the sharing of stories and traditions, including histories, occurs in everyday actions and tasks. The underlying question, then, is whose history matters the most and why? Are Chicanas grinding corn and making tortillas worth remembering? Are the African American women and girls teaching each other to braid engaging in a historical event? Clearly, these writers would say yes, but I believe their poetry has larger implications for the construction, writing, and politics of history. Acosta and Mullen not only write Mexican American and African American women into history, they reframe and reject the methods, paradigms, and approaches that omit them.⁴ Their writings are both local and global, intimate and public, verse and prose, which allow them to assert voices, positionalities within and beyond the narratives of the past.

This essay also seeks to re(un)cover the positionality of Tejanas and black Texan women, Chicanas and African American women, at large, in the history of the United States. Although, in a fashion that is neither as poetic nor sweeping as the work of Acosta and Mullen, I examine how we envision sexuality and race together, with the study of (post)colonial moments in the U.S. My overarching interest in the participation of African American and ethnic Mexican women in sex work along with the social movements against prostitution and white slavery in Texas during the progressive era has led me to consider how we theorize, historicize, and write about these matters. In this exploration, then, I will not simply review the appropriate literature or create a short interpretative narrative. Rather, I would like to provide a discussion that interweaves the theory, historiography, and history necessary for complicating our understanding of sexuality, race, and reform in the United States. Put another way my question is: how do we talk, write, and read for women of color in prostitution, reform, and empire?

For this reason, I divide this essay in three parts or scenes. The first scene, on language, surveys a number of relevant theoretical concepts by scholars engaged in cultural studies both within and outside the field of history. The second scene on writing looks at a couple of recent works that cast the examination of white slavery in “Greater America” in innovative and compelling ways. Last, the scene on reading uses the Immigration Inspector Frank R. Stone’s report of immigration violations to touch upon white slavery in Texas.

SCENE ONE: THE THEORY OR ON LANGUAGE

It is interesting that Ann Laura Stoler, Emma Pérez, and Ann duCille echo the insights that Acosta and Mullen propose in their poetry about expanding the constraints of the methodology and epistemology that shapes the craft and telling of history. Whether they introduce, reclaim, or revise concepts such as the “tense and tender ties,” “decolonial imaginary,” and “othered matters,” they create places and spaces to complicate the writing and thinking of sexuality and race, among other factors, historically and historiographically.⁵ These theorists put forth that we break

down dichotomies, recuperate the subaltern, and understand power institutionally and informally in order to articulate multilayered approaches and accounts.

Of course, historical scholars such as Darlene Hine Clark and Rayna Green set the groundwork that facilitates the kind of theoretical claims these other scholars later produce. The terms “Pocahontas perplex” and “culture of dissemblance” that Green and Clark respectively introduce provide important ways to reconceptualize old and new questions, concerns, and topics.⁶ Whether or not they intended to write theory, they broaden our capacity to see how the gendered, sexualized, and racialized subjectivities of women of color intertwine in their historical accounts of Native American and African American women. In deconstructing representations of Indian women in dominant white American culture, Green reveals how Indian women have figured as the “The Mother of Us All” or “Pocahontas perplex” saving and protecting America for white men.⁷ She continues that this image, in conjunction with the oversexualized “Squaw,” creates a role of Indian women as one-dimensional, passive, and voiceless in the popular narratives of the U.S. Only by going beyond the confines of hegemonic discourses and viewing Native American women on their own terms can we dismantle and carve a place where they are complex, multidimensional, active persons.⁸

In turn, Hine’s thought-provoking article focuses on that counterpoint that Rayna Green evocatively calls for in our investigations. Hine states that black women created a culture that both masked and protected “the truth of their inner lives and selves from their oppressors.”⁹ Through this “culture of dissemblance,” African American women could survive the onslaught of gender, sexual, race, class, regional oppression and violence they experienced in their day-to-day lives. Yet, she contends that the purpose of black women historians (and I would add women of color historians overall) must be to write histories of black women holistically, not simply privileging those who were more visible, literate, or upwardly mobile, by creating paradigms that explain why black women adopted certain coping strategies and images to achieve agency in their lives.¹⁰ It is evident these two scholars present the possibility of rectifying previous historical narratives and constructing new, oppositional, and autonomous

ways of understanding the multiplicity of the past that has strengthened the assessments of the next theorists.

Stoler's brilliant essay, "Tense and Tender Ties," challenges historians, critics, anthropologists, and other historical scholars to locate the power of empire in "intimate domains"—be they—"sex, sentiment, domestic arrangements, and child rearing."¹¹ Drawing from both (post)colonial studies and North American historiography, and to a lesser extent post-structuralism, Stoler pieces together a theory and framework that couples analyses of race and sexuality with empire-building and local state-formation. Her ultimate goal for us is to reflect upon the need to produce complex, comparative, and overlapping cultural histories of colonialism. Stoler invents a way to consider a transhistorical, transnational narration by interlinking the regions of North America, Asia, and Africa through comparative studies of race relations; theories from postcolonial, ethnic, feminist, and American studies; and histories that infuse their narratives with these aforementioned perspectives.¹²

Conversely, Emma Pérez and Ann duCille bring Stoler's sweeping assessments back to more focused and localized approaches. Neither Pérez nor duCille are explicitly interested in making linkages across empires, but they do draw from (post)colonial, postmodern frameworks. In presenting concepts such as the "decolonial imaginary" and "othered matters," Pérez and duCille invite us to reconfigure the ways of knowing that have erased, limited, or misinterpreted the positionality of Chicanas, for Pérez, and women of color at large, for duCille, from the historical records and inquiries.¹³ Similarly, these scholars, like Stoler, present a language that builds upon our notions of "intimate matters" and empire-formation.¹⁴

Pérez astutely notes that only in the third or interstitial spaces can we write Chicanas as central and active subjects of our discourses. Her attention to the contradictions and complexities that inform this "decolonial imaginary" highlights the difficulty in constructing a Chicana/o history that does not reproduce dominant or normative patterns. In this decolonial space, we constantly navigate between being the oppressed or oppressor, colonized or colonialist. We are never just one of these identities, but, in fact, occupy all of them simultaneously. Academicians and writers must

write from that interstitial space where the actions and words of Chicanas, Mexicanas, Indias, and Mestizas exist even in the silences and omissions to (en)gender Chicano history. These women are “sexing the colonial imaginary,” as Pérez puts it, inscribing themselves in the landscape.¹⁵ Unlike Stoler, then, Pérez is not simply interested in deconstructing the taxonomies of sexuality and race. She seeks to produce a methodology that creates understandings of Chicanas that are multivalent, *mestiza*.¹⁶ Additionally, I would assert that, like Darlene Clark Hine, Pérez seeks to claim the agency of Chicanas by comprehending their comportment, actions, and words in unlikely, unexpected manners.

In her examination of Tejana participation in social and recreational organizations in Houston during the early twentieth century, Pérez shows that Mexican and Mexican American women developed different strategies to confront the institutionalized racism, sexism, classism, and other discrimination in Texas. One of these strategies or “interstitial moves for survival” was assimilation.¹⁷ She further states the problem therein lies in using categories such as assimilation instead of viewing these women as diasporic since many had recently migrated from Mexico and still looked there for the organization and missions of their clubs and associations.¹⁸ Obviously, her point is that we must interrogate even the most seemingly uneventful facets of Chicanas’ lives.

Of the three, Ann duCille is perhaps the most specific and least developed in her theoretical insights about sexuality and race since she uses the monograph, *Intimate Matters* as her starting point.¹⁹ However, like Pérez and Stoler, her purpose is to push the boundaries of the typical Eurocentric methodologies that inform historiography. Although duCille never formally uses the term “‘othered’ matters,” it encapsulates her critiques on the limitations inherent in D’Emilio and Freedman’s pathbreaking book. The authors append the “other,” namely “non-Europeans, people of color, women, lesbians, gays” to the narrative, never truly infusing their examination with a counterhegemonic or nonhegemonic perspective. DuCille is especially concerned when this becomes the “gaze” for understanding sexuality.²⁰ And, undoubtedly, she indicates places where the interpretation in *Intimate Matters* could have benefited from different sources. Still, it is unclear how her opposing examples reveal any major paradigm shifts. In other words,

duCille does not fully sketch out what a nonhegemonic framework looks like.²¹ Yet, like Stoler and Pérez, she points to a path that some historians have begun to adopt in their narratives.

SCENE TWO: WHITE SLAVERY AND BEYOND OR ON WRITING

Historians Donna Guy and Eileen Suárez Findlay have written definitive works, which take the study of white slavery and other sexual and racial regulation in Argentina and Puerto Rico at the turn of the nineteenth century into provocative directions. Their painstaking attention to discourse as well as the material realities of these social worlds and phenomena discloses that familiar scenarios may not always have the usual outcomes.²² Without a doubt, the regulation and meanings of sexuality and race differed from the United States, to Puerto Rico, to Argentina, but these texts demonstrate that these nations and colonies shared the impact of modernization, urbanization, and immigration in changing the norms, politics, and policies surrounding these taxonomies. Both critically situate sexuality within or alongside the contexts of citizenship, nation, empire, and race, reinforcing Stoler's call for making these connections salient.

Guy argues that fears about "white slavery" or the illegal trafficking of European women forced into prostitution reached the forefront of discussions in Argentina and nations in Europe only when it became a means for nations to contest each other's sovereignty. Latin American and European women's bodies became the literal site where these debates occurred. In fact, Guy details how the international image of Argentina shifted from a bastion of international prostitution and vice to one of progress and reform for married women's rights. She further notes that this tactic by Argentina was an intentional means to gain power and notice in this landscape.²³ Yet, more importantly, Guy showcases how the intimate results into a location of nation-state formation and transnational discourse. That is to say, debates about women's sexual conduct and oppression transformed into questions of citizenry, the rights of certain women in society, and the limits of imposing quasi-colonial governance.

In that same period, but from a different vantage point, Guy explores how and why the regulation of public health and prostitution intersect for socialists in the port of Buenos Aires. The linking of these issues allows us further to understand the effect of modernization and urbanization on Latin American women. After the legalization of prostitution in 1875, Guy explains, socialist politicians, physicians, and other members differed in their viewpoints on the most pressing issue of sex work—whether it was white slavery, eradicating legalization, or regulating this industry. After all, many of these social reformers were responding to the international outcry that Buenos Aires was a haven for white slavery.

Nevertheless, at the center of these debates was the desire by socialists to create a classless society based on gender equality. With the 1936 passage of the national Law of Social Profilaxis, which abolished licensed prostitution and established a “program of prenuptial exams” for men, some would contend that socialists had achieved some success.²⁴ As such, Guy’s investigation unveils how the presence of socialist reformers altered the public views surrounding sex work in ways that, perhaps, were only unique to Argentina. Certainly, her nuanced and precise approach also indicates how we need to contemplate the numerous layers that informed local, national, and international discussions of sex work if not necessarily sex workers. She reveals how disease, morality, and ideologies of racial purity took precedent over the specific gendered social conditions of poor and working-class women. Furthermore, Guy demonstrates that the positionality of these lower-class women was never truly the concern of the state. Guy emphasizes the condition of prostitutes and other women considered to be “dangerous” remained relatively unchanged since the focus of legislation privileged a male, upper-class subjectivity.²⁵ In the end, these women were not at the center of the discourse, but only relevant as it pertained to improving the position of men, a trend that continues in movements against prostitution in Puerto Rico.

Suárez Findlay states that the antiprostitution movements in Ponce and surrounding rural sugar producing areas gained momentum as universal male suffrage was granted regardless of race, namely, Africanness, at the end of the nineteenth century. Like Donna Guy, Suárez Findlay illuminates the predictable and unexpected links that the campaign against

prostitution brought together. Elite white Puerto Ricans joined with emergent laboring Afro-Puerto Rican intellectuals and activists to curtail the few rights of laboring Afro-Puerto Rican women. Under the guise of respectability and decency, these groups formed strategic alliances to control what they perceived to be inappropriate sexual and economic comportment and practices of the “alleged” prostitutes in the streets of Ponce. Simply put, rich liberal men, middle-class feminists, and “decent” working men and working women, envisioned the “disreputable” poor woman as prostitute, black, and diseased and used her as the opposition to their diverse cultural and political ideologies. The irony, of course, was that these various factions did not agree on a singular ideology, but they united about specific values regarding gender, sexuality, and morality. Moreover, this ideology served as means to erase racial difference between whites and mainly black Puerto Rican men in this new political space.²⁶

In addition, Suárez Findlay delineates how this social, cultural, political climate with respect to sexual relations and views drastically changed with the U.S. conquest of Puerto Rico in 1898 and the nascent labor movement of the early twentieth century. Indeed, the new voices from the left were pivotal in defining a working woman’s sexuality that represented the goals for dismantling class, gender, sexual subjugation and the literal and figurative presence of the U.S. fueled this discourse.

Prostitution served as the centerpiece to articulating overlapping oppressions resulting from unchecked capitalism and gender inequity. But, Suárez Findlay comments that despite the fact that female and male anarchists and feminist activists engaged in these conversations, they did not always agree on what this sexuality would look like. In other words, leftist men still idealized domesticity as the site that would save laboring women from exploitation but also allowed them to retain the gender order of society. Conversely, a few radical women expressed a perspective that recognized the need to redress or undermine the institutions of gender and class oppression in order to form a nonhierarchical society. Still, neither addressed the issue of race directly. Both used race as the subtext to their understandings of sexuality and “womanhood” because they focused on race differences outside the working class, not race conflict within it.²⁷

It is clear that Suárez Findlay underlines a number of important issues with her analysis of the shifting underpinnings that guided the regulation of prostitution and the meanings of sexuality and race. As Guy shows for Argentina, discourses and activities regarding the question of prostitution brought together divergent viewpoints and individuals. In the case of Puerto Rico, the study of prostitution sheds lights on some similar and few distinct axes. Suárez Findlay highlights that colonialism (or imperialism) was not simply a specter in early twentieth century Puerto Rico as it was perhaps in Argentina. Suárez Findlay, though, does not engage in a transnational examination of empire, but instead centers her investigation on deconstructing the tentacles of empire. By using prostitution as her starting point, she traces how debates about the sexuality of laboring (raced) women were tied to changing perceptions of masculinity. Apparently, masculinity allowed various male leaders and activists to ally across race in the 1890s and helped working-class radical men to unite against white elites, mostly wealthy men, in the 1900s and 1910s. However, Suárez Findlay is careful not to marginalize the stories of working-class, mostly black Puerto Rican, “prostitutes,” and other “deviant” women, even as she draws these linkages. Rather, she refuses to limit her narrative as solely an account of prostitution and seeks to problematize and expand our knowledge of the sex work as a repressive site embedded with other forms of subordination. And, like Pérez, Suárez Findlay reads against the grain to unmake and remake this social world. In the case of Texas, we will see that kind of analysis is also necessary.

SCENE THREE: STONE REPORT OR ON READING

In 1909, Frank Stone pursued a lengthy investigation of the (inter)national trade of prostitutes to the state of Texas. Reporting to the Commissioner-General of Immigration in Washington, D.C., Stone revealed more than just instances of criminal activity. He commented on the social world of prostitutes, madams, pimps, macks, and other “girls” in the “White-slave traffic.”²⁸ In particular, he shed light on the lives of ethnic Mexican and African American women and their nebulous place in the moral reform movements of the progressive period. Yet, as Stone

reported in his assessment of Laredo, few Mexican “dueñas” and prostitutes were worth charging with immigration law violations since the proximity of the border and their substantial population circumvented these efforts.²⁹ To an even lesser extent, African American women figured as a subtext—be they domestic workers or laundresses—to his overall narration of the horridness of prostitution and the importance of his work.³⁰ In other words, he took note of black houses of prostitution but did not detail their living conditions.

At one level, the Stone Report is an opening to understanding U.S. hegemonic discourses on white slavery and illegal immigration. After all, as an official of the United States, Stone documented moments of transgression against the nation-state, along with deciding when these moments were worth regulating. He further represented Eurocentric, bourgeois beliefs toward a sexualized, racialized other. On another level, this report signifies a place where we must use the “decolonial imaginary,” “tense and tender ties” to begin reading for the subalterned subjectivities of ethnic Mexican and African American women. Moreover, as the inquiries of Guy and Suárez Findlay suggest, we must use the lens of prostitution to reveal other workings of society. How can we read those places in the Stone Report where the acts of women of color seem to indicate an uneventful moment? Why did he find that only a few Mexican women significant enough to indict? Why were black women only the counterpoint of his analysis?

The “web of criminality” that Stone did describe certainly emphasized the relevancy or irrelevancy of the state and transnational connections. In his subsequent remarks about Laredo, Stone depicted the local government to be useless. He wrote:

It might be interesting to the Bureau to know that almost the entire City and County government are Mexicans—the Mayor, the Sheriff, the District Attorney, County Judge; in fact almost the whole of them are Mexicans, and from the high handed manner in which they handle the State laws here they don't seem to have much respect for the Federal laws. The majority of them are, to say the least, dissolute, with little conception to the laws of morality.³¹

Here, Stone dubbed all “Mexicans” as the problematic element. It was not simply the Laredo prostitutes who were criminal and disreputable but, in fact, the state was so corrupt and immoral it rendered Stone’s work against “importing women” futile. The “Mexicans” could not be counted on for the campaign against “white slavery.” Furthermore, in Stone’s view, the transborder, transnational crossings of persons that occurred in the Laredo-Nuevo Laredo region were too numerous, continuous, and habitual to record any usual occurrences. Still, we must wonder if the “Mexican” officials’ “incompetence” toward state and federal laws also stemmed from their distrust of the U.S. government. After all, the U.S. takeover of the Southwest was fairly recent in the memories of many of these “newer” citizens. We must similarly contemplate if the ethnic Mexican women that Stone encountered shared that same disdain for U.S. (read white) government representatives of any form.

It is equally interesting how in evaluating the situation in Galveston, Stone charged two Latinas, possibly Puerto Rican women, and investigated two others for involvement in the trafficking of prostitutes. What path did Margarita Leos and Margarita Ugaldá take to end up in this port city? Did their journey end with this arrest?³² One reading would show that these women were inconsequential, but I would suggest they were needed in the imagination of reformers, officials, and politicians to encourage the discussions around anti-white slavery since they represented an antithetical sexuality. In addition, I contend we must consider where these women of color were strategically masking their “inner lives and selves,” as Darlene Hine Clark says. My ultimate purpose is to interlink this report with other conversations in order to unravel the intimate matters codified in the “informal” colonialism of the South/west. After all, it is apparent that campaigns against sex work were part of larger transnational discourses.

CONCLUSION(S)

As early as 1878, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leader, socialist, writer, and poet Tejana/black Texan Lucy Gonzáles Parsons raised incisive critiques against the institution of capitalism. Specifically, in her poem, “A Parody,” Gonzáles Parsons wrote:

No love was left:
All earth, to the masses, was but one thought—and that was:—Work!
Wages! Wages!
The pangs of hunger fed upon their vitals.
Men, in a land of plenty, died of want—absolute—³³

It is evident that her words cannot be placed in the context of progressive debates surrounding prostitution and white slavery. Yet, her words do disclose a subjectivity of the poor, working-class that is relevant to understanding the various social forces that informed sex work since expanding capitalism, combined with the advent of modernity, critically transformed the social, cultural, and economic world of laboring Mexican American and African American women. In many ways, “A Parody” foreshadowed conditions and situations that only became worse in the early twentieth century. Perhaps, because this subjectivity she expressed was purposely male, and (un)raced, (de)sexualized, it is difficult to read for the women of color, but I believe those “masses” could include many. Her poem is also significant because it prefigured ways of knowing and expressing that activists, poets, and writers Harryette Mullen and Teresa Acosta later use. And, like these poets, Gonzáles Parson did not compartmentalize her reality into one manner or experience.

In this essay, I have sought to interweave the different ways of understanding sexuality, race, and (post)colonialism in the United States and beyond so as to begin to deepen our histories of ethnic Mexican and African American women in the progressive period. Certainly, I propose that we must deconstruct the boundaries that separate theory, historiography, and history and use frameworks and histories that push our previous assumptions and knowledges of the past. The various scholars, writers, and theorists examined here demonstrate that this is no easy task. Yet, they do reaffirm that only by looking at the intimate, along with the institutional and structural forms, of power, can we conceptualize a space where other voices existed, where black and brown Texan women lived more fully and complexly.

Endnotes

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1 Teresa Palomo Acosta, *Nile & Other Poems* (Austin: Red Salmon Press, 1999), p. 87.

2 Harryette Mullen, *Tree Tall Woman* (Galveston: Energy Earth Communications, 1981), cited in Ruthe Winegarten, ed., *Black Texas Women: A Sourcebook: Documents, Biographies, Timeline* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), p. vii.

3 Acosta is a Tejana/Chicana poet, journalist, and historian; born in McGregor, Texas. See Acosta, *Nile & Other Poems*; Teresa Palomo Acosta and Ruthe Winegarten, *Las Tejanas: 300 Years of History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003). Ruthe Winegarten identifies Mullen as an up-and-coming black Texas poet. See Winegarten, ed., *Black Texas Women: A Sourcebook*, p. 313.

4 See also Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 4-5; Louis Gerard Mendoza, *Historia: The Literary Making of Chicana and Chicano History* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), pp. 12-15; Barbara Christian, "The Race for Theory," in *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color*, ed. Gloria Anzaldúa (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1990), p. 336.

5 Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *Journal of American History* 88.3 (December 2001).

<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/88.3/stoler.html> (24 March 2003); Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*; Ann duCille, "'Othered Matters': Reconceptualizing Dominance and Difference in the History of Sexuality in America," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1.1 (July 1990): 102-107.

6 Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 15-21; Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14.4 (Summer 1989): 912-20.

7 Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex," p. 17.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

9 Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West," p. 912.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 919-920.

11 Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties," pars. 1-5.

12 A case in point is the section where Stoler draws parallels between the "colonial period(s)" in America and other colonies. Stoler points out how we can draw key

links between the ambivalent and tenuous positions of domestic workers in the households of the antebellum South and the nineteenth century colonies of Britain, France, or Netherlands, even though some were slaves while the others were “contract coolies.” The “nursemaids, cooks, and houseboys” were crucial in maintaining the racial and class stratification of particular cultural spaces of the ruling class despite being othered as “objects of both fear and desire” by the same class. Further, the domestic morality necessary for maintaining the “order of things” in the South was not unique to the United States, but, in fact, other regions such as the Dutch East Indies and South Africa which both followed it as an example. Stoler illustrates, then, how racial and sexual hierarchies and meanings converge and diverge in the solidification of empire. See Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties,” pars. 5-6, 33-34.

13 Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, chap. 1; duCille, “Othered Matters,” pp. 102-105.

14 Stoler, and I, of course, are borrowing this term from historians John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman. See *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

15 Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, pp. 5-7 (quote from p. 7).

16 Ibid., pp. 25-27.

17 Ibid., p. 81.

18 Ibid., pp. 80-83.

19 D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*.

20 DuCille, “Othered Matters,” p. 103.

21 Ibid., p. 109, n. 10. Also, see D’Emilio and Freedman, “Commentary: A Response to Ann duCille’s ‘Othered Matters,’” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1.1 (July 1990): 128-30.

22 Donna J. Guy, *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Eileen J. Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

23 Guy, “‘White Slavery,’ Citizenship, and Nationality in Argentina,” in *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead*, pp. 72-73, 81, 84-85.

24 Ibid., “White Slavery, Public Health, and Socialist Position on Legalized Prostitution in Argentina 1913-1936,” in *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead*, pp. 155-58, 171-72.

25 Ibid., pp. 171-72.

26 Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency*, pp. 77-81, 89, 108-109.

27 Ibid., pp. 135-37, 153-59.

28 Frank R. Stone to Commissioner-General of Immigration, 25 June 1909, file 52484/8-A, p. 2, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter cited as Stone Report, INS RG 85).

- 29 Stone Report, 11 August 1909, file 52484/8-G, p. 5, INS RG 85.
 30 Ibid., 29 May 1909, file 52484/8, p. 10, INS RG 85.
 31 Ibid., 25 June 1909, file 52484/8-A, pp. 5-6.
 32 Ibid., 22 July 1909, file 52484/8-B, p. 3.
 33 Winegarten, ed., *Black Texas Women: A Sourcebook*, emphasis hers, p. 68.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Interlingualism: The Language of Chicanos/as

Lilia De Katzew, California State University, Stanislaus

Interlingualism, what we could call the language of Chicanos/as, is one of the most significant features that reveals their sense of identity in the United States. Chicanos/as' use of interlingualism reflects and influences the dynamic of their cultural, educational, socioeconomic and geo-historical experiences. Thus, the Chicano/a experience is constantly re-transformed and revitalized by their specific use of interlingualism, which is a blend and juxtaposition of Spanish and English often appearing in "subtle fusions of grammar, syntax, or cross-cultural allusions. Interlingualism is a linguistic practice highly sensitive to the context of speech acts, able to shift add-mixtures of languages according to situational needs or the effects desired" (Bruce-Novoa 50).

This linguistic practice rejects the argument of maintaining Spanish and English separate in exclusive codes, but rather it sees them "as reservoirs of primary material to be molded together as needed, naturally, in the manner of common speech" (Bruce-Novoa 50). Interlingualism is the "form of expression that is the true native language of Chicano communities, even if some members of the communities speak only English or only Spanish" (Bruce-Novoa 50). Interlingualism, however, differs from code-switching in that the latter "is a particular type of verbal interaction

characteristic of bilingual populations in the midst of social change” (Sánchez, *Chicano Discourse* 139) and is studied “to understand why people who are *competent in two languages* alternate languages in a particular conversation or situation” [emphasis added] (Reyes 77).

The purpose of this article is to provide a better understanding of interlingualism as the language of Chicanos/as. I first establish the lack of understanding and rejection of the Chicano language by institutions of higher education. I then analyze the syncretic process of interlingualism. I do so by looking at the historical, geographic, socioeconomic, political, educational, and cultural factors that have informed this process. I conclude by circling back to the role that educational institutions have thus far played in subtracting and denying legitimacy to the Chicano language that has consequently, negatively affected Chicanas/os’ sense of identity. I argue for the need to train educators to be culturally literate and sensitive and to understand the importance of interlingualism.

Chicanos/as’ use of interlingualism conveys a tension experienced due to living between two hegemonic linguistic and cultural worlds—Mexico and the U.S.—and moving between two languages— Spanish and English. A clear example of that tension can be found in the historical rejection of the Chicano/a language by most university language departments, specifically when they regard it as hybrid since English and Spanish are blended and often incorporate an array of Spanish expressions or words which reflect centuries’-old Spanish colloquialisms, pre-Columbian words, Caló, pachuquismos, linguistic expressions brought by recent rural Mexican immigrants, as well as invented or deconstructed English words which have been phonetically tailored to a Spanish sound (González 350-355; Mazón 2-5; Ortega 1-9; Hernández 9-16; Sánchez, *Chicano Discourse* 91, 128-130). Spanish language departments regard Chicanos/as’ language as bad language. It is perceived as an affront to the purity of Castilian Spanish and “it has been labeled as substandard or incorrect” (Hernández 19) and as a deteriorated dialect that is not acceptable to the Hispanic world (Campa 226).

Linguist Adolfo Ortega points out that Spanish language programs often over-stress the “correct language, at the expense of the ‘vernacular,’”

which he argues “may result in high-sounding or stilted speech to those concerned more for the message communicated than for the manner of communication” (Preface). Ortega further reveals that “today, grammatical ‘purists’ believe that Southwestern Spanish has little value and even less comprehensibility” (Preface). He posits, “Language, as it exists in a social setting, embodies the ‘life signs’ of a people with a common history, culture and mobility” (Preface).

Literary scholar Juan Bruce-Novoa argues that rejection of interlingualism also comes about because “the space between the languages is a forbidden zone of neither this nor that. Those who practice a type of speech located in the zone of mixture are linguistic outlaws for the purists at either pole” (33). Bruce-Novoa also holds that much of this rejection is based on the fact that linguistic science and structuralism have not only greatly influenced our cultural thought, but are also both examples of the intrinsic negativity found in binary constructs, where terms are defined by what they are not. Languages, therefore, are opposed in pairs, “and to be bilingual is to switch codes from one to another, not to mix them. Anything less than a complete jump from one pole to the other is termed ‘interference’” (33).

This rejection has in turn strengthened Chicano/a authors in their objective to preserve the language of Chicanos. Interlingualism can be found in most of the contemporary Chicano/a literature when “some Chicano/a writers write in English with Spanish words and phrases and others write in Spanish with English words and phrases” (De Katzew 111). For example, Tomás Rivera’s *...y no se lo tragó la tierra*, Rolando Hinojosa’s *Estampas del Valle*, Miguel Méndez’ *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, Alejandro Morales’ *Caras Viejas y Vino Nuevo*, and Erlinda Gonzales-Berry’s *Paletitas de Guayaba* are literary works written in Spanish with some interlingualism. On the other hand, other literary works such as Rodolfo Anaya’s *Bless Me*, Ultima, Estela Portillo Trambley’s *Rain of Scorpions*, Ron Arias’ *The Road to Tamazunchale*, Sandra Cisneros’ *Woman Hollering Creek*, *The House On Mango Street* and *Caramelo*, and Victor Villaseñor’s *Burro Genius*—among others—are written in English while incorporating some interlinguistic elements.

Not surprisingly, then, the purpose of these authors according to De Katzew is “to record Chicanos’ oral traditions in order to preserve them in a written form for future generations of Chicanos/as” (138). Moreover, their works reflect the importance of language as a feature of Chicano/a identity, which has put Chicanos/as at odds with an Anglo majority, especially since interlingualism has been characterized as inferior or as a hybrid from a purist binary perspective (De Katzew 138-9). And yet, the “hybrid” characteristic, or the “supposedly” impurity of the Chicano/a language reflects the cultural and racial hybridity of Chicanos/as, their *mestizaje*. Significantly, one of the most powerful messages that the Chicano Movement sent to all Chicanos was to take pride in their identity as *mestizos*—to find dignity in their hybridity—for in it lies the history, the culture, and the spirit of Chicanos/as (De Katzew 220-222).

Juan Bruce-Novoa maintains that interlingualism “is the true native language of Chicano communities” (50) and Gloria Anzaldúa echoes this statement when she says that language reflects life and that the Chicano language is not incorrect, that “it is a living language” (77). Anzaldúa expounds:

For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with neither standard (formal, Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but create their own language? A language in which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves—a language with terms that are neither español ni inglés, but both. We speak patois, a forked tongue, a variation of two languages (77).

With 25 million Mexican Americans in the U.S., according to the 2000 U.S. Census, (U.S. Department of Commerce *The Hispanic Population in the United States*), the number of people in Chicano communities using an interlingual mode of expression is likely to be high. The use of interlingualism can also be found in the media in Spanish. Univision and Telemundo, the two major Spanish language chains, have grown expo-

nentially since the mid-1970s and Latino viewership has “catapulted Univision’s six o’clock news program into the lead” (Whisler and Nuiry qtd. in Hayes-Bautista 109). In California alone, where Chicanas/os comprise at least 77 percent of the Latino population, there are at least fifteen television stations transmitting in Spanish (Hayes-Bautista 109) and employing interlingualism.

Interlingualism is then, “based upon syncretism, because the merging of Spanish and English reflects the historical and cultural synthesis of Chicanos’ Mexican and United States experiences into one environment” (De Katzew 110). As Octavio Paz points out, “the word syncretism says everything” (349) because all cultures are in a process of continuous change, feeding on the ruins of other cultures, much like “idols behind the altars” (Anita Bremen qtd. in Paz 439). Paz further elaborates this argument when he writes about the Spaniards who reached Mexico and encountered the Aztec society:

The version of Western civilization that reached Mexico was also syncretist. On the one hand there was Catholic syncretism that had assimilated Greco-Latin antiquity and the gods of the Orientals [sic] and barbarians; on the other hand, was Spanish syncretism. Centuries of struggle with Islam had permeated the religious conscience of Spaniards: the notion of crusade and holy war is Christian but also deeply Moslem (345).

Thus, the syncretic nature of language reflects continuous cultural changes linking past cultural nuances with present ones. Language, then, becomes a cultural tool with which individuals learn to communicate with each other. Not surprisingly, language is profoundly connected to identity. This connection implies that language is not only a way of speaking, of using words. A leading Mexican essayist, literary critic, poet, scholar, and diplomat, Alfonso Reyes argues that language is “a way of thinking, an implicit or explicit judgment of reality” (qtd. in Paz 164). Therefore, language not only conveys who we are, but it also expresses our own nature and reflects the soul of a nation, of a people (Paz 164).

Language, then, is not a static, rigidly bound form of communication.

“Words,” according to translation studies scholar Rainer Schulte, “have the potential of expanding boundaries of their lexical meanings and dynamics of semantic possibilities through their specific contextual placement” (xi). Schulte argues that there are hardly any changes of human emotions from one culture to another; what changes is how these emotions are placed within the natural environment of a country or a group (xiv). Language therefore is organic, fluid, and dynamic. As Octavio Paz beautifully puts it, it is “sounds and symbols, inanimate design and sheer magic, clockworks and a living organism” (165). Thus, the history and life experiences of people demand the creation of a form that will express their interpretation of their relationship with all others (Paz 165).

Interlingualism reflects Chicanos/as’ syncretic experience as U.S. citizens of Mexican descent in their process of acculturation, assimilation and/or resistance. This process began after the annexation of over half of Mexico’s territories by the U.S. as a consequence of the mid-19th century U.S. – Mexico War. At that time approximately 80,000 Mexicans inhabited the territories (Meier & Rivera 70)—now the U.S. Southwest—and the dialectical balance of their syncretic experiences as U.S. citizens of Mexican descent spilled into their language when English became the official language of their former country. Not surprisingly, the process of language deconstruction and reconstruction reflects the dialectic dynamic of how Chicanos/as translate their environment by continuously adding English and Spanish words into the syncretic equation of their language.

Although Caló and pachuquismos became more known in the 20th century, there were other distinctive speech patterns used by a Chicano/a population after the U.S. - Mexico War that had fallen in disuse in Spain by the latter 1500s as well as colloquialisms and misspelled words (De León 135). Historian Andrés A. Tijerina found in official correspondence between Tejanos of Mexican Texas some examples of terms which, by the end of the 16th century, were no longer used in Spain, such as *asina*, *ansi*, *naiden*, *lamber*, *trujo*, *escuro*, *vide*, *anque*, *adrede*, and *dijieron* among others (qtd. in De León 135). Tijerina also found modified words as part of the common vocabulary to suit the Texan uniqueness: *mesta* became *mesteña* and was later transitioned in pronunciation to *mestango* (65-78); *pelinegro* was altered to *pelegrino* and was used as a term of contempt of

the Anglo colonization in the 1820s and 1830s (qtd. in De León 135). Several White observers from that time called this language pattern “Mexi,” a Spanish patois which was widely different from the pure Castilian spoken by the Spanish (De León 135).

The survival of 16th century words and speech patterns used by Chicanos/as can be traced back to the segregation practices experienced by Chicano communities after the U.S. – Mexico War. Segregation and marginalization influenced Chicanos’ speech patterns when they found “[their] lands gone, [their] religion seriously challenged, and [themselves] citizen[s] of a country whose language, laws, and social customs [they] did not understand” (Meier & Rivera 72). Spanish had become the language of the conquered and as such a new campaign to remove it from the public schools ensued, fueled by a nativist phenomenon that overtook the new U.S. Republic during the Americanization process (San Miguel 43). English-only policies “discouraged, inhibited, or prohibited the use of Spanish. In some cases, language designation was usually accompanied by discriminatory legislation against the minorities who spoke the language” (San Miguel 43).

Yet, Spanish was still spoken at home and some old distinctive speech patterns, expressions, and words were preserved because no new Spanish was being taught in schools (Valencia 7; Gonzales, María Dolores 21-24). Also the lack of any significant Mexican immigration during that time period halted the introduction of new Spanish speech patterns, words, and linguistic expressions to the Mexican American/Chicano population. Historian Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. points out that although Spanish was banned from the public schools (from 1870 to the early 1890s), Mexican Americans from New Mexico, Texas, and California consistently resisted such legislation (43-51).

In the 20th century the “process of Americanization, English immersion, and the generally negative perception of the Mexican culture continued to guide education” (González Gilbert 73), a process that strongly relied on “IQ testing and heavy tracking into industrial education” (González Gilbert 73). Still, interlingualism survived and was retransformed, fueled by a continuous flow of Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrants who

entered the U.S. in increasingly large numbers before and after the turn of the 20th century. These immigrants were pulled out from Mexico to supply the labor demands of the burgeoning U.S. industrial society. Furthermore, over one million Mexican immigrants crossed over into the U.S. fleeing the 1910 Mexican Revolution (Meier and Rivera 123).

Even when Mexican immigration slowed as a result of the 1930s Great Depression, interlingualism was enriched by speech patterns found in the Caló that was practiced by a growing Mexican American population. According to Ortega, the linguistic roots of Caló can be traced to Spain's Golden Age, approximately from 1474 to 1640 (1). "Caló," like interlingualism, was a defiant sociolinguistic vernacular expression that emerged from the socially oppressed in Spain, and includes a diversity of influences such as the language of the Andalusian gypsies which had absorbed characteristics of other languages, including Arabic and Hebrew (Mazón 3; Kiraithe in Ortega, foreword). Brought to the New World, Caló expanded with the linguistic contributions of "the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the shifts in meaning in words and phrases which already form part of Spanish lexicon and the contributions of English, as well as the words and phrases which appear to be *inventions* of Caló speakers" (Ortega ii).

Caló was transmitted by Mexican immigrants coming from the border towns, as well as from the central plateau states of Jalisco, Michoacán, and Mexico City. In their northbound trajectory, Mexican immigrants brought Caló to El Paso, Texas, historically one of the entrance points to the U.S. Southwest as well as the clearing house for Mexican labor. Caló later fused with the borderland Spanish and with the English language, acquiring new meanings and "shifting into new designations, such as Pachuco" (Ortega 10).

Pachuco language became a private language, an in-group argot exclusively spoken and understood by Pachucos. For Mexicans the Pachuco was a *pochó*, a U.S. born Mexican but alien to the U.S. and Mexican cultures and "fluent in neither Spanish nor English; a specialist in Caló, the argot of lumpen elements—an ideal subject for ethnocentric apologies or chauvinist attacks" (Mazón 5). Octavio Paz originally perceived the

Pachucos as youths of Mexican origin who belonged to gangs and could be identified by their language, behavior and distinctive clothing. The Pachuco, Paz argued, “has lost his whole inheritance: language, religion, customs, beliefs...Having been cut off from his traditional culture, he asserts himself as a solitary and challenging figure. He denies both the society from which he originated and that of North America” (15-17). Historian Mauricio Mazón states more explicitly that in “Mexico the Pachuco was perceived as a caricature of the American, while in the United States the Pachuco was proof of Mexican degeneracy” (5).

The Pachuco language became a language of resistance linked to “the movement of Mexicans from rural to urban centers, to a generational rebellion against both Mexican and American culture, to the influx of drugs, and to an enduring legacy of discrimination” (Mazón 4). According to Professor Rafael J. González, the “Pachuco dialect is mainly composed of Caló (the jargon of the Spanish gypsy much used by bullfighters), Hispanicized English, Anglicized Spanish, and words of pure invention, interspersed with words from the Nahuatl and archaic Spanish and held together by faulty Spanish sentence construction and grammar” (350).

This Pachuco subculture and language came about as the result of a dialectical and syncretic process in which the rebellion against both Mexican and U.S. cultures created a subculture that was different, defiant, marginal, and hybrid. The syncretic and hybrid elements of the exclusive Pachuco language can be traced back to fifteenth century Spain, according to historian Mauricio Mazón. He argues that the “pachuco youth of Los Angeles and the Southwest, however impoverished, were the heirs of a linguistic and therefore cultural tradition originating in fifteenth century Spain” (3). Not surprisingly, “when the batos of East Los Angeles talked about *la julia*, they meant to evoke the dread of the paddy wagon shared by their continental predecessors. And when the batos talked about calcos, most were probably oblivious of the fact that gitanos used the same words for shoes” (Mazón 3).

Thus the survival and evolution of the language of Chicanos/as—in spite of anti-Spanish language policies in the U.S.—can be traced to different geo-historical, economic, cultural, migratory, and educational patterns.

Even though generations of Chicano children in many urban areas of the U.S. Southwest (such as Los Angeles and San Antonio) were socialized only in English and lost much of the Spanish language in the process, they retained a level of interlingualism rooted in a linguistic historical memory in words such as *jefa* and *jefe* (mom, dad), *cantón* (home), *afilerear* (to knife), *la chota* (police), *calcos* (shoes), *carnales* (brothers or like-brothers), *feria* (money), *riatazos* (beating), *camotazos* (fights) or in expressions such as *puro pedo* (bullshit), *aguiluchas truchas* (watch out), a *chingadazos* or *chingazos* (submission by violence), *está a toda madre* (cool, great), *ahí te watcho* (I'll see you), and many others. Other clusters of Chicano populations in rural areas in South Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, California and some urban areas of New Mexico and Texas clung to Spanish as a unifying community factor that reinforced their identity and illustrated their resistance in the face of segregation and of racial and discriminatory practices that hindered their economic and educational opportunities.

With the great wave of Mexican immigration in the 1960s, the syncretic nature of interlingualism expanded when Spanish was reinforced and subsequently transformed by adding “loanwords.” Scholar Rosaura Sánchez explains that loanwords are “present in all languages of the worlds...The Spanish of Latin America and Spain include a number of loanwords from English. Only the degree of borrowing in the Southwest is higher, given the more intimate contact with the English language” (*Chicano Spanish* 234) in words such as *weekend*, *farm workers*, *kindergarten*, *hamburger*, and others. The borrowing of English words into new Caló linguistic nuances, what Rafael J. González identifies as “Hispanization of English words into Spanish nouns and verbs” (352), is a frequent linguistic process that is found in examples such as *trocas* for trucks, *dompe* for dump, *parkear* for parking, *fuliar* for to fool, and others. The Caló practiced in the Southwest is greatly influenced and regenerated by the continuous Mexican immigration coming from Mexico City, the central plateau, and from the poverty stricken rural Mexican communities.

Geography, as Octavio Paz frequently said, is the mother of history, and U.S. labor demands have lured Mexican immigration to the U.S. over a century. Mexican immigrants reinforce language (Spanish), religion, and

Mexican traditions in the Mexican American/Chicano communities. The impact of this continuous stream of Mexican immigration to the U.S. has also shifted the demographic, socioeconomic, and political realities of this nation. The recent 2006 immigrant marches uncovered those realities when millions of undocumented immigrants came out of the shadows to protest federal legislation proposals that would build more walls along the U.S.-Mexico border, make felons of all undocumented migrants and “make helping illegal immigrants a crime” (Prergamon 18A).

“Of the estimated 10.3 million unauthorized migrants who live in the U.S....57 percent comes from Mexico” (PEW Hispanic Center qtd. in Wagner 1A). Altogether, undocumented immigrants who make up about 4.6 percent of the total U.S. work force are mostly located throughout the Southwest and Florida. They are an economic force that generates billions of dollars worth of labor that feeds the U.S. underground economy. The worth of this shadow economy has been estimated at “about 970 billion dollars, or almost nine percent of all goods and services that are produced by the real economy” (Barron’s qtd. in Wagner 1A+). What is very significant is that most undocumented Mexican immigrants coming to the U.S. are young adults (Hayes-Bautista 8) who soon join the labor force while finding a home within the local Mexican American communities. As soon as cross-generational intermarriages occur between Mexican immigrants and more acculturated Mexican Americans, interlingualism evolves regionally and is constantly recreated by new generations, thus producing linguistic nuances that are still in the making.

Still, the ongoing debate today among academics in language departments and public school educators about Chicano/a Spanish speakers is still centered around the criticism that although the Spanish language has survived in the U.S. Southwest, it has done so “despite all the imperfections that characterize it today” (Campa 219) and only as a dialect “plagued with Anglicisms and syntactical forms derived from the English language” (Campa 226). Many argue that its use is counterproductive because it does not preserve “the Spanish language as an instrument of communication among Mexicans, Hispanos, and Chicanos” (Campa 226). Furthermore, the argument goes, in order to respond to attempts to reinstate the Spanish language among an ever-growing Mexican American population

in the U.S. Southwest, quality should come up to standardized expectations, namely, “use a language that is understandable and acceptable to both the Spanish-speaking and the English speaking world” (Campa 226).

According to this argument, the standardization of Spanish would consequently link all Spanish speakers in the U.S. given the fact that Spanish is the second language most spoken in the U.S. From the approximate 47 million Americans ages 5 and older who use a language other than English, Spanish is the language mostly spoken, according to a 2003 U.S. Census Population Report (U.S. Department of Commerce *Language Use, English Ability, and Linguistic Isolation*). This data reflects the demographic reality of a Latino population that is now the largest ethnic minority in the U.S. and of which people of Mexican descent comprise at least 66.9 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce *The Hispanic Population in the United States*).

While “academic/standard” Spanish ought to be taught in the schools, teachers of Chicano/a students need to understand that the Chicano language is vital, valid, and that it is to be recognized as a language used as a way of *communication* by millions of people in the United States, especially in the Southwest. Furthermore, Chicano children should not be put down for their use of Chicano language or interlingualism. As is, since the nineteenth century, the Americanization process in the U.S. has subtracted the Spanish language and Mexican culture from the public schools’ curricula.

This has had a cumulative negative impact on generations of Chicanas/os’ sense of identity because they cannot find themselves mirrored in the socio-historical fabric of the U.S.; they have been linguistically and culturally marginalized and regarded as “aliens” or “foreigners,” as the “others.” In addition, the pervasive legacy of deficit thinking has vindicated the system and its institutions and blamed the victims (Pearl 341). The many variations of deficit thinking based on heredity or cultural deprivation, environmental deficit or flawed character development has translated not only into Chicanos/as “unequal encouragement to succeed in the classroom” (Pearl 341), but also on a negative sense of identity given their experiences with institutional and socio-historical marginalization of Chicano/a language, culture, ethnicity, race, class, and gender.

Poet, writer, and scholar Gloria Anzaldúa illustrates how Chicanas/os' identities are affected by what she calls "linguistic terrorism"—the suppression of the mother tongue while crossing cultural and linguistic borders:

Chicanas who grew up speaking Chicano Spanish have internalized the belief that we speak poor Spanish. It is illegitimate, a bastard language ... Pena. Shame. Low estimation of self. In childhood we are told that our language is wrong. Repeated attacks on our native tongue diminish our sense of self. The attacks continue throughout our lives (80).

Anzaldúa argues that "ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity" (81). This idea is best captured by her words: "I am my language" (81). Language, therefore, is a critical variable to one's sense of identity because, as Rosaura Sánchez points out, language is for Chicanos/as "a sign of community, a product of the community, a reflection-refraction of the material culture of the community" (*Chicano Discourse* 17-18). Overcoming "linguistic terrorism," will, then, be possible when educators are trained to be culturally and linguistically sensitive and literate.

Today, the reality is that we still find a great number of educators who are culturally and linguistically illiterate despite constructive efforts otherwise. For instance, the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) has expressed concern since the early 1970s "about a tendency in American society to categorize nonstandard dialects as corrupt, inferior, or distorted forms of standard English, rather than as distinct linguistic systems, and the prejudicial labeling of students that resulted from this view" (NCTE Position Statement). One of its constituent groups, the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) has attempted to bring about teachers' respect and understanding of students' dialects and cultural diversity. In 1972 the CCCC Executive Committee passed a resolution on "students' rights to their own patterns and varieties of language" in which they strongly urged teachers to "have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language" (*Students'* 3).

Yet, according to Professor of Education, community activist, and scholar Leodoro Hernández, many language departments still actively engage in denying any legitimacy to interlingualism, the language of Chicanas/os. He states that in his 28 years as an educator, he has found that Spanish language departments in particular have not acknowledged interlingualism, the language of Chicanos/as, as a legitimate situational language; rather, it is regarded as a bastardized dialect at best. According to Hernández, the expectations for Chicano/a students have been to reject anything that does not fit Castilian Spanish.

Such expectations deeply affect Chicano/a students' sense of positive identity: not only is the language that they, their parents, and their community speak not socially recognized, but it also carries an academic/institutional stigma. Moreover, Hernández frequently encountered Spanish language departments that downgraded Mexican literature as well by identifying it as "non-canonical" when it was compared to Iberian literature. Ironically, Hernández was invariably asked by school administrators and Chicana/o students to be the keynote speaker at Chicano commencement ceremonies since, unlike his colleagues who spoke Castilian Spanish, he had the ability to effectively communicate with the Chicana/o graduates and their parents because he "was able to speak the same way as Chicanas/os do; that is, [he] spoke the language of Chicanos/as" (Hernández, personal interviews). Hernández argues that variations in language (dialects) are a normal organic process. He maintains that as a result of the historic isolation which occurred in the U.S. Southwest, the manner of communicating in one geographic area gains more prestige than the dialects developed in other areas. The greater the prestige the more desirable it becomes to learn or use the dialect. However, greater prestige is not the same as universal appropriateness. In the case of Chicanos/as, the "standard Spanish" from Spain (Castilian) or even from Mexico has been imposed by many as the power dialect and anything less than that has been labeled as substandard and incorrect. Interlingualism has thus been identified as the language spoken by the uneducated.

Educators have missed an important principle that if two or more people communicate, their language system has validity (Hernández 18-19). In the U.S. Southwest millions of people use interlingualism and their sys-

tem of communication is legitimate for their purposes. In fact, public servants who work in *barrios* are inadequately trained when they study only the “standard” Spanish (Hernández 18-19). Therefore, it is important to recognize the validity and use of the vernacular Chicano language—interlingualism—not just that of standard Spanish. Validation of interlingualism, however, will only be possible if educators are trained to re-read the multicultural experiences of their diverse student populations. Ultimately, educators must be not only culturally sensitive, but also culturally literate. Paulo Freire puts it best when he argues that “the successful usage of the students’ cultural universe requires respect and legitimation of students’ discourses, that is, their own linguistic codes, which are different but never inferior. Educators also have to respect and understand students’ dreams and expectations” (127).

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CHAPTER FIVE

*Ay dolor, ya me volviste a dar: Loss and Cultural Mourning among Mexican Origin Immigrants to Oregon*¹

Ricardo Larios, Oregon State University

Everything begins with a question and our journeys are the processes of finding answers to the things we don't know. This study represents my journey of learning and researching about Mexican immigrants. This journey began when I was asked to participate on a long-term immigration project conducting oral life histories of Mexican immigrants in Oregon. During this time, an article written by Ricardo Ainslie (1998) caught my attention with its discussion about cultural mourning among Mexican immigrants. Hence, this study seeks to explore how Mexican immigrants cope with separation from their homeland. Ainslie's article suggested that "*la pulga*," or the flea market, serves as a potential space for alleviating cultural mourning. I hold that the *futbol*, or soccer, field in Salem, Oregon also functions as a potential space for lessening Mexican immigrants' cultural mourning for both players and fans.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is clear that the contemporary U.S.-Mexico border no longer resembles what it once was when the border patrol was created in the 1920s (Magaña 2003). Whereas both documented and undocumented immigration in the earlier twentieth century was fairly free flowing, now prospective immigrants face a gauntlet composed of helicopters, walls, hi-tech surveillance, and some 16,000 border patrol agents, all determined to halt undocumented migration. Operation Gatekeeper, Hold-the-Line, and Safeguard are the predecessors to Operation Triple Strike, a decade old strategy that concentrates INS resources in urban areas to force undocumented immigrants into the harsher inhospitable terrain (Migrant Rights International 2003).

Ironically, the United States is systematically trying to erect a wall between Mexico and itself. This urgent construction of a tangible and symbolic wall between these two nations as a solution for undocumented immigration overlooks many facets in the complex web of immigration. The very nature of globalization serves as a catalyst for immigration. It is a phenomenon that encourages the movements of capital, goods, services, and communications across international borders. Hitchhiking along, as unforeseen variables are people, cultures, and languages. Sassen (1996) argues that there is a connection between those countries that receive massive amounts of foreign capital and those that receive high numbers of immigrants, undocumented or otherwise.

Immigration policies are also to blame for immigration flows. The failure of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) to reduce immigration by sanctioning employers who hire undocumented workers led Americans to question its rational. The United States arrived at the conclusion of controlling immigration through non-enforcement methods (Acevedo and Espenshade 1996). This became an important aspect for the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). As a byproduct of globalization, NAFTA's many provisions set out to reduce trade barriers and encourage foreign investment in the respective countries involved. Embedded in this view is the logic that foreign investment creates jobs, which in turn will reduce migration flows. This became a goal

for NAFTA: economic buildup in migrant sending countries to reduce immigration. Acevedo and Espenshade (1996) conclude that NAFTA, in the initial and middle stages, will tend to exert migratory pressures on Mexicans propelling them into the United States mainly as undocumented workers. They conclude, "The overall effect of free trade will be to foster migration" (p. 210). In brief, the economic policies that have been designed to deter undocumented immigration simply have not worked and consequently have produced more migration.

Through globalization and programs like NAFTA, the transfer of U.S. manufacturing plants across borders has been facilitated and fast tracked. This has significantly changed the labor structure in the U.S. Sassen (1996, p. 223) notes, "There has been a rapid expansion in the supply of low-wage jobs in the United States and a casualization of the labor market, both associated with the new growth industries, but also with the decline and reorganization of manufacturing." It is important to note the usage of the term 'casualization,' because the definition points to a trend in the United States labor market.

Casualization can be described as the increase in transitory and part-time employment, reduced promotion prospects, and the undermining of various types of job security. These trends can be attributed to the reduction of manufacturing jobs and the maturation of service type employment (Sassen 1996). Sassen concludes: "The resulting casualization of the labor markets facilitates the absorption of immigrants, including undocumented immigrants" (p. 226). So as the United States switches to a postindustrial or service sector economy, the high paying blue collar jobs are disappearing fast. Roger Rouse describes the trend in the current labor structure as one that has changed, "from the pyramid to hourglass" (Rouse 1996, p. 253). The jobs that were stepping stones for the upward mobility that previous immigrants enjoyed are becoming a thing of the past. These changes in the labor structure have created low paying jobs, but to immigrants they still remain crucial.

The findings in a survey regarding attitudes towards Latino immigrants revealed that it was generally understood that immigrants take jobs that Americans don't want (Cornelius 2002). This infers that the United States

has a niche for immigrants, a niche that has been created by casualization. While the earlier discussion about intensification of the border patrol's efforts stressed the intent to reduce immigration, the country's policy on interior enforcement points to a glaring contradiction that relates to the casualization of the labor market and its need for immigrant workers. "Even as it [Congress] poured unprecedented sums into border enforcement, Congress actually cut the budget requests of the U.S. INS for worksite enforcement in recent years. In fiscal year 1998, only two percent of the INS's total enforcement effort was devoted to enforcing immigration laws in the workplace" (Cornelius 2002, p. 169). The implication is that immigrants are needed and wanted in the United States because of the contemporary labor infrastructure.

If they are needed and wanted, this view must be from a business standpoint. The public reaction towards immigrants appears to remain negative, and seems to have hardened since the tragic events of 9/11 (Bender 2003). In Oregon the legislature is considering a bill that would require proof of citizenship or permanent residency to obtain a drivers license (Chuang 2003).² In Arizona, voter proposed initiatives have enacted similar anti-immigrant proposals that "require state and local government agencies to verify the immigration status of applicants for public services not mandated by the federal government" (Bender 2003). Armed citizen patrol groups along the U.S.-Mexico border have formed "people's militias" to stop undocumented immigration (Quintanilla 2003). Paradoxically, many business and government agencies have begun accepting the *Matricula Consular* (Mexican embassy issued id's) as an acceptable form of identification. Yet this dream arrangement for Mexican immigrants has come under attack. In fact, the *Matricula* is in danger of being recalled pending results of the treasury department's recently held online vote regarding its continued acceptance (American Immigration Lawyers Association 2003).

If globalization is the river that takes immigrants to the land where the streets are paved with gold, then social networks are the rafts which support the migrant until he or she reaches land safely. In their book *Return*

to *Aztlán*, Massey et al. (1987) dedicate an entire chapter to the significance of social networks. They summarize as follows:

Mexican migration to the United States is based on an underlying social organization that supports and sustains it... Together they compose a web of interconnecting social relationships that supports the movement of people, goods, and information back and forth between Mexican sending communities and the United States (p. 169).

Rouse (1996) echoes the same sentiment but uses the concept of “transnational migrant circuits” rather than social networks. He posits, “Just as capitalists have responded to the new forms of economic internationalism by establishing transnational corporations, so workers have responded by creating transnational circuits” (p. 254).

Even businesses have learned to appreciate the value of migrant networks, and have used them as their main recruitment tool for labor (Krissman 2000). The “networks” of social capital are indispensable to immigrants, especially the undocumented as this is where one goes to borrow money, to seek information, to hear of employment opportunities, to secure shelter, or simply to find somebody to communicate with. The networks facilitate the transition between two countries, two worlds (Massey et al., 1987), and without them, immigrants would drown in the river of globalization.

However, not all networks are created equal. Feminist scholars focus on the role of women in migration studies (Crummet 1998). Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (1996) explores women’s role in these social networks and challenges the validity of the “household model.” She offers a different framework that “acknowledges the power relations operating within the family or household unit” (p. 187). In a similar fashion, Maria de los Angeles Crummet (1998) studies the uneven effects of migration on women when they are left behind to care for family households with limited resources. Crummet posits, “[t]hat the household approach is deficient unless it is accompanied by an analysis of class structure that locates

the domestic unit within a broader context of social relations of production” (p. 150).

While the previous studies seek to address theoretical shortcomings, Adela de la Torre (1993) investigates the “real” costs of immigration in terms of family health and the role of women, which many times is overlooked by emphasizing the financial benefits of immigration. In addition, de la Torre suggests that women’s participation in the seasonal workforce did not alter, “[t]raditional gender roles in the household...[and] for many women the overall work burden increases as the household responsibilities continue to stay within the women’s domain” (1993, 178). There is no doubt that the study of women in immigration is a field vastly untapped. The research of these scholars has helped rethink women’s roles that were initially overlooked and propel a greater understanding of immigration phenomenon.

The aforementioned has been a partial overview on immigration. Yet, it serves to give an idea of the complexity of this topic. While immigration can be approached on many levels, the psychological dimension to immigration is what will be explored in this paper. It is against the broader spectrum outlined above that I will contextualize my own study on the role of soccer in the process of cultural mourning.

CULTURAL MOURNING THEORY

The idea of cultural mourning stems from the theories of object loss as conceptualized by Freud, Engel, Abraham, Klein, Loewald, and others (Frankiel 1993, ix). Object loss, in turn, is linked to identity formation, which is connected to first impressions of the “me” and the “not me” (Winnicott 1971). The loss felt by the infant at the initial break from the mother compels the infant to repeatedly attempt to “fill the gap.” Ainslie, citing Freud, asserts that the act of ‘filling,’ whatever forms that might take, perpetuates attachment to the mother (Ainslie 1998, p. 285). In the cases of loss experienced through death, something similar occurs. “Freud argues that object loss and identification in mourning are paralleled by identification leading to the formation of the super-ego and the ego ideal” (Frankiel 1993, p. 36). Object loss or loss from death result in grief, the

latter defined as, “the characteristic response to the loss of a valued object, be it a loved person, a cherished possession, a job, status, home, country, an ideal, a part of the body etc. (Frankiel 1993, p. 10).” Severe object loss, such as that caused by death, can be devastating and lead to a psychological imbalance with feelings of extreme sadness, guilt, or an “impairment of the capacity to function right” (Frankiel 1993, p. 11).

However, in most cases individuals are able to mourn their loss in a way that prevents derangement. According to Volkan (1981), the mourner finds “linking phenomena” that provide, “a locus to externalize contact between aspects of the mourner’s self representation and aspects of the representation of the deceased” (p. 20). This process gradually forms “identification with the lost one which promotes growth” (Ainslie 1998, p. 287). In addition to linking phenomena, “linking objects” may also play a role in mourning in that they create “a symbolic bridge to the dead person” (Volkan 1981, 20).

Winnicott (1971) posits the idea of a “potential space” as important in managing grief caused by separation and loss. This potential space is the area where culture unfolds. Ainslie’s theory of cultural mourning is grounded on the works of Freud, Volkan, Winnicott, and others. According to Ainslie (1998), “the immigrant experience represents a special case of mourning in which mourning revolves around the loss of loved people and places occasioned by geographic dislocation... [It] represents a psychological context that colors an immigrant’s emotional world and that becomes represented at the level of motivation and engagement in ways that are both conscious and unconscious (p. 286).”

While object loss is typically an individual experience linked to personal and familial history, cultural mourning results from the intertwining of individual and environmental factors such as cultural experiences. Upon leaving the homeland immigrants experience loss, not only of loved ones, but also of cultural objects, practices, etc:

When an immigrant leaves loved ones at home, he or she also leaves the cultural enclosures that have organized and sustained experience. The immigrant simultaneously must come to terms with the loss of family and friends and also cultural forms (food, music, art, for exam-

ple) that have given the immigrant's native world a distinct and highly personal character. It is not only the people who are mourned but the culture itself, which is inseparable from the loved ones whom it holds (Ainslie 1998, p. 287).

Ainslie draws on Winnicott's theory of the potential space to argue that immigrants make use of the potential space to engage in activities, "that bridge the emotional gaps and spaces" created by dislocation and loss (Ainslie 1998, p. 289). This space allows immigrants to restore what is lost, for in it they engage in activities that create the "illusion of restoration of what was lost (p. 289)." Ainslie further argues that the use of the potential space is twofold. In addition to filling this space with activity or objects that keep alive the illusion of continuity with the homeland, the potential space also contains artifacts from the new environment. In this regard, the potential space serves as a platform where immigrants can begin to negotiate their adaptation to the new environment. As an example of a potential space, Ainslie studies the flea market in Austin, Texas and argues that the activities that go on in this space alleviate the pain of personal and cultural loss. This process, then, is what he calls cultural mourning.

In this study I use Ainslie's theory to explore cultural mourning among immigrants in Oregon. The soccer field in Salem is an example of a potential space linked to mourning. In particular, I explore how the game and the objects related to soccer serve as "linking objects" that help resolve issues of sadness, loneliness, and grief as players and fans perform their cultural mourning. I expect that resolving these issues allows for immigrants to successfully integrate into the new setting (Ainslie 1998, p. 290).

SITUATING SELF AS RESEARCHER

My interest in immigration is two fold. First, it is an intellectual interest that grew out of my involvement with the immigration project, *Mexican Immigrants in Oregon: Their Stories, Their Lives*. Secondly, immigration is deeply rooted in my own life experiences and cultural identity. Thus, I am able see immigration through the lens of the migrants themselves. My parents and three older siblings were all born in Michoacán, Mexico. I

was the first in my family to be born in the United States. My family came to the U.S. as undocumented workers and most of my extended family did so as well. Their struggles as undocumented workers are ingrained in my soul.

Growing up in the fields of Yakima Valley in Washington State, that is what I witnessed daily. Living amongst undocumented immigrants was a normal thing for me. It was so normal, in fact, that when my brothers and sisters were “fixing papers,” I cried because they wouldn’t give me a mica (green card). I was too young to understand the legal difference between being born in Mexico and in the U.S. Presently, my interactions with undocumented immigrants has not diminished. I work in a bakery owned by my parents where all of the employees are immigrants from Mexico, the majority of whom are undocumented and have arrived within the last five years. My conversations with them almost never deviate from their lives in Mexico; the times they crossed, their lives in the U.S., and/or what they miss most about Mexico. It is through them that I receive knowledge of what it means to be an immigrant in the 21st century.

While I am very close to the reality I am investigating, there are some limitations. I was not born in Mexico. I did not have to cross a border “illegally.” I was educated in U.S. public institutions. The first time I visited Mexico was in 1988 when I was about six years old, and I have visited several times since. I point out these limitations because although I have an adequate understanding of the culture, language, and customs, I am not an expert on immigration. My understanding of Mexico and the conditions that propel immigration is partial at best.

Yet I am perceived as Raza (one of them) and this gives me valuable insider access. My insider status gives me access to the languages of my subjects and to the nuances of non-verbal communication. Moreover, it enhances my ‘trustability’ in gathering data.³ My ‘outsider’ status allows me to view the subject matter in relation to the broader social landscape, and to reflect on it from a different perspective.

METHODS AND DATA

Qualitative study is the overarching term that best describes the methodological orientation of this project. *The Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry* defines qualitative methods in a general way as, “procedures including unstructured, open-ended, interviews and participant observation that generate qualitative data [i.e. data in the form of words]” (Schwandt 2001, 213). Moreover, this approach can be further distinguished by the methods one employs to generate data. Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg (1991) describe three potential modes of inquiry under the heading of case study. They define a case study as “an in-depth, multifaceted investigation using qualitative research methods, of a single social phenomenon” (p. 2), in this case the soccer field in Salem, Oregon.

Ethnography, biography, and/or social history are tools that a researcher can utilize to gather data. Briefly defined, an ethnography is a study of the actions and/or lives of a group people, behaviors, beliefs and feelings (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg 1991). While ethnography is based primarily on observation, biography involves dialogue between the researcher and participants. To further define what biography is, it is important to discuss what it is not. Biography is not meant in the traditional sense, i.e. the biography of Jackie Robinson, but rooted in a “sociobiography of a particular social type or social role” (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg 1991, p. 4). Life histories, either partial or total, of participants become the data in relation to the study. The last form of inquiry is guided by the social historical approach. Researchers employing this method “[s]eek therein to elicit discoveries and insights that can illuminate the experience of other, similar groups” (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg 1991, p. 5). The present study is composed of these methods and cannot be defined as one or another but a blend of all three.

Curt Dudley-Marling (1996) informs my decision to take a qualitative approach based on the following examples. First is his example of a politician’s response to economic crisis when trying to reassure the general public. Politicians use the phrase that “key economic indicators” are resuming to pre-crisis levels. But when you ask the general public, their experience indicates that they have not yet weathered the storm (Bartlett

and Steele, 1992 cited in Dudley-Marling 1996; Saul 1992 cited in Dudley-Marling 1996). In another example, Marling questions his professor's invocation of the principle of Occam's razor "that the simplest solution was always preferred." He does this because he realizes that Occam was wrong. Occam was wrong because the simple solution overlooks "[the] reality that denies the complex lives of ordinary people living in the real world" (1996, p. 111).

I employ the first example because I believe that numbers aren't capable of telling the entire story, and thus, my choice for a multiple method strategy. In the name of logic and reason, quantitative studies tend to sanitize human emotions and experience. In the example about 'key economic indicators,' they may forecast that the times are improving, but the people who have to deal with the crisis may tell you otherwise. I use the second example to point out that in the world of science and theories, there is a real world, and that we are very much a part of it. Experiences and emotions are just as important as numbers. In brief, qualitative inquiry seeks to explore the world of knowing in an alternative way that seeks to render the richness and complexity of the human experience. In the end it is another method to seek answers for our understanding.

My first step in this multiple method strategy was to go to the soccer field and observe the interactions that were taking place. With a journal in one hand and a digital camera on the other, I set off. I took photos of the game and the surroundings of which I was immersed. Using a friend as a liaison between the stakeholders and myself, I set out to find possible contacts for personal interviews. However, things are always easier said than done. I had seven contacts for possible interviews, but out of those seven only two would bear fruit. I ran into several hurdles that effectively hindered the process. For example, they would give me wrong numbers, change meeting times, not show up, etc. I understand the stakeholders are very busy people with little or no free time. Furthermore, while frustrating, this experience taught me some important lessons about how researcher assumptions may clash with reality. Stakeholders' information has to be treated with great respect. They are trusting one with very personal information and their trust cannot be violated. With this, it is very hard to "dump" feelings to a complete stranger who only offers his word

of why he needs the information. In any case, I set up the interviews so they would be conducted at a later time at the stakeholders' convenience. It was agreed that I could record the interviews.

The interviews began with a general interview guide that consisted of closed type questions borrowed from the long-term Mexican Immigration Project of oral life histories of Mexican immigrants in Oregon. After the questionnaire, I proceeded with open-ended questions specific to the topic at hand. The average length of the interviews was 30 minutes. It is important to note that after the field observations and interviews, I wrote freely about what I had just seen or heard. Later, I listened to the two interviews and was able to acquire and transcribe the relevant passages that substantiated the claims for my project. In addition, I used information gathered in interviews from the larger project, *Mexican Immigrants in Oregon: their stories and their lives*, particularly as it pertained to feelings of loss and grief.

FINDINGS

Overall, the data indicated that study participants felt symptoms of grief related to immigration. In particular, interviews from the Mexican Immigration Project suggested that family is what immigrants missed most. The following are typical responses to the question, "What did you miss most when you first arrived?":

Sergio: My sons, my sons, the little kids, they were small...I missed them.

Armando: My mother.

When I asked two soccer stakeholders⁴ the question, "What do you miss most when you first arrived?" Their answers were:

Antonio: My parents...and my family, because in this country it is very difficult to be without family.

Semeon: My family.

Semeon went as far as to say that, “the nostalgia even makes you feel a little bit sick.”

Now that Antonio and Semeon have their families here in Oregon, their sense of loss has been projected elsewhere. What they were referring to was the actual space of Mexico and the cultural accoutrements left behind when they emigrated. That was precisely what Ainslie (1998) referred to in his theory of cultural mourning. Immigrants simultaneously mourn the loss of their family and culture because of immigration. Family and culture are not two separate entities, but intricately woven and indivisible as demonstrated by the interviews.

The soccer stakeholders reported that sports, mainly soccer, was the source to forget about feelings of grief. When I asked Antonio if playing soccer reminded him of Mexico, his response was ecstatic, “that was the reason that I started to play there [in Los Angeles].” When I asked Semeon the same question, he responded, “When I played soccer it would make me remember over there, Mexico... More than anything else, it makes me forget, I would feel relaxed, I mean in those moments that I would be playing, I wouldn’t be thinking of nothing.” In brief, immigrants do experience loss when they immigrate to the United States. A more extensive study of cultural mourning is in order.

EL CAMPO

The following findings are based on my observations of the soccer field in Salem, and my informal conversations with the fans during the games. For the most part, the soccer field serves as a potential space where mourning takes place and culture is reproduced. First, the soccer field is a *different* space than other recreational areas in the vicinity. As one drives into Wallace Marine Park on a Sunday Morning, one notices something very peculiar about it. The faces are mostly brown and the parking lot is full of vans, ‘tricked out’ 1980s Hondas and Buick Regals, and the ever important *camioneta* (pickup). This is in stark contrast to the Mercedes Benzes, BMWs, and Volkswagens you see on their way to the neighboring softball tournament. Furthermore, and as one approaches the soccer field, all one hears is Spanish. English is only heard in sprinkles from the little

kids running around in the field or from the coaches who are swearing. The music that blares from the *camionetas* or *ranflas* (cars) is the latest *Nortño* or *Banda*. There is no Snoop Dogg here.

The majority of fans and players are dressed with apparel displaying icons from their favorite soccer team in Mexico. Hats with Mexican flags or *Viva Mexico* are the norm. People dressed in cowboy outfits do not stick out, as they would at the mall where people wear Birkenstocks or clogs. The wonderful smell of roasted corn permeates the air. *Paleta* vendors sell traditional ice cream from Mexico in little three-wheeled carts. The aroma of *carne asada* wafts from the taco stands.⁵ This space is different from mainstream U.S. space because it is filled with accoutrements of Mexican culture.

Moreover, I discovered that the soccer field in Salem is a symbolic microcosm of Mexico. When talking about the differences between soccer in the U.S. and Mexico, Semeon noted, "It is a little bit different because you see people from all over [Mexico], over there in Mexico you are used to seeing people from the same town and here [U.S.] you see different people all the time." Here, the field is constructed as a national space in that regional identities are sharply visible. For example, the core team is usually made up of family and friends from a certain region. The team names denote their state or city, like *Deportivo Jalisco*, *Las Archillas*, *Morelia*, *Veracruz* etc. Following the teams are the fans. They are usually from the same town or state, which further highlights these regional differences. In this space all players and fans play out their regional identities much as they would in the national space, which is Mexico. Ainslie, in his analysis of the flea market, notes that it is, "A setting that creates a temporary visual/sensory illusion that one is back home in Mexico, thereby replenishing these immigrants via a reimmersion in the lost familiar" (1998, p. 291).

I found this to be true in my observations of the soccer field. In this process of "reimmersion" in the "lost familiar," fans and soccer players play out their cultural identities as if they lived in Mexico. Contrasting their actions here to their actions in the spaces of the "other," or mainstream culture, an immigrant's old identity is highly transparent. In the space of the "other," immigrants are quiet, to themselves, not wanting to draw attention, especially if they are undocumented. In the soccer field the

immigrants are very different. In fact, I was able to witness the enactment of “another” identity. Because this is a safe space where the dominant gaze is not present—their only representatives were a pair of Euro-American sentries—fans and players alike unwind, joke around, and engage in what we call in Spanish, *cotorreo*. This literally means talking freely and liberally like a parrot; words and their meanings should not be taken seriously.

On the flip side of this humor and joviality is a display of exaggerated masculinity, much like that observed by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (1994, p. 214) who state that, “Marginalized and subordinated men, then, tend to overtly display exaggerated embodiments and verbalizations of masculinity that can be read as a desire to express power over others within a context of relative powerlessness.” For example, when the referee asked the fans to step back from the marked boundary so he could see it, the fans, especially the men, would respond by not moving and by swearing at him. This led to a showdown, with the referee finally leaving, just shaking his head.

Mexican males’ public status in the U.S. is low because they are targets of racism, relegated to jobs which are insecure and low paying, and often lack proper documentation (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994). In their home country there are more spaces that allow for the performance of masculinity. The lack of similar spaces here constricts that enactment. The soccer field, because it recuperates a “lost and familiar” space, seems to encourage some males to not only perform their masculine identities, but to exaggerate them. In doing this they may be reacting to their marginalized and disempowered position in the U.S. In the safe space of the soccer field the players and fans reenacted another identity, one that detaches from the mainstream norm. Soccer allows mourning by letting fans and players enact an identity akin to their home country identity.

Within the male dominated safe-space, however, there is also room for family. Hence, it is also a family space. This is an important facet of Mexican life, for family, we know, is central value in the Mexican culture. The idea of family is not only drawn around the nuclear family, but also the extended family (Condon 1997). In other words, family may consist of cousins, aunts, uncles, and/or friends. All forms of social activities, including parties, outings, and sporting events make room for family. In

Salem, evidence of the importance of families in the social realm was abundant. Strollers were parked in areas surrounding the field. The laughter and cries of little children filled the air. During the intermissions, the children would race to hug the fathers, or practice shooting penalties into the goals. In one example, I discovered through an informal conversation that one of the referees had thirteen children. His wife and his kids would accompany him to the games he was refereeing. The prominence of family in this space mirrors practices in Mexico, thus adding to the sense of the soccer field as an illusion of the homeland.

In another light, family can be seen as a network that supports each of its members. Soccer then can also be seen as a “family” that supports the involved stakeholders and branches out to create community. Soccer is a social construction that creates, supports, and brings the Mexican immigrant community together. Moreover, within this tight community environment a space opens up for the incorporation of non-immigrants. Mexican-Americans, Euro-American wives and players, and sometimes even Euro-American players are found in this simulated Mexican environment. By opening up or socializing with those different from Mexican immigrants, soccer expands the parameters of community. This signals the beginning of adaptive negotiations that could promote individual acculturation and increased societal integration (Gordon 1964).

CONCLUSION

Throughout my observation and inquiries I found that my study parallels Ainslie's research. Like ‘la pulga’ studied by Ainslie, the actions and social practices related to soccer create an illusion of the homeland, re-presenting Mexico in the potential space. On the soccer field players and fans literally feel as if they are in Mexico. It is a ‘different’ space vis-à-vis mainstream culture. The space of soccer has the sights, sounds, and smells of the home country. In this potential space, immigrants enact ‘other’ identities, the positive and negative characteristics of which can lie in between the extremes of an extra sense of joviality, a heightened sense of familia, or an exaggerated masculinity. Regional identities are sharp, because the soccer field acts as a symbolic microcosm of the national space of Mexico. Finally, soccer is a link that connects the immigrant community together.

Soccer also incorporates non-immigrants, and in so doing it branches out and expands the boundaries of the immigrant community, offering a glimpse of integration strategies.

My study diverges from Ainslie's in an important aspect. Ainslie argues that, in addition to linking immigrants back to Mexico, the flea market is a platform for acquiring the necessary accoutrements and social skills to function in this country. According to Ainslie, "La pulga serves as a potential space where Mexican immigrants simultaneously live in the old country and the new, a kind of 'as if' world wherein they can momentarily be home again, in the plazas of their village and towns, while, at the same time, 'playing' with the materials of the new culture" (291). In my study, aside from the presence of Mexican Americans and Euro-American wives of the soccer player, the potential space of soccer is fairly insulated and closed off from mainstream culture. In this sense, the soccer field functions exclusively as a space for cultural mourning. This does not mean that its efficacy is mitigated in any way. Immigrants will find numerous ways to acquire and 'play' with the materials of the new culture. What is significant about soccer is that, in providing a venue for mourning through 'reimmersion in the lost familiar,' it creates a connection between their homeland and their new land.

Endnotes

1 This study was funded by a McNair Scholars research stipend.

2 At this point in time the legislature has not passed this bill. It was stalled on the Senate floor. And because the state was embroiled in record setting budget talks, this bill was put aside.

3 For example, in an interview with Antonio, when I explained to him the right to pass on any interview question he told me, "No no no, I must answer every question that you ask me."

4 The two contacts for the interviews were both males in their 30's. Both of them had been in the United States for at least ten years. Antonio had never played soccer in Mexico, but when he arrived in Los Angeles he started to play there. He continued to play when he moved to Salem, Oregon, however he had irreparable damage to his knee and now considers himself a fan. Semeon however, played in Mexico and then in the United States. He is a referee within the league of which he once played. Semeon also coaches a team within the first division of the Willamette league (Salem).

5 Recently, the city of Salem halted all vending at public parks. Their reason was that a lot of trash was left by park goers. The paleta vendors would clean up after

the games so they could still sell their product, but the city still would not budge on the decision.

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CHAPTER SIX

Chicano Gang Membership, Familism, and Social Support: A Critical Examination of Conflicting Theoretical Models¹

Jesse Díaz Jr., University of California, Riverside

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted in Southern California, and included 52 self-identified Chicano gang members over eighteen years old. The basic theoretical question addressed is whether Chicano gang members in adulthood would draw more social support from friends or family. Specifically, two contradictory theoretical models were examined, the *Multiple Marginality* and the *Surrogate Family* approaches. Drawing from the literature on familism and gangs, it was predicted that while gang members would become estranged from the family during adolescence, once gang members matured into adulthood, they would once again draw social support from their families. A linear regression analysis was employed to ascertain the correlation between friends and family social support. Although the prediction that the participants would seek more social support from their families than from friends as they matured was not supported, the outcome was nonetheless instructive and will hopefully help to inform the extant literature on the relationship between familism and

gang membership among Chicanos, and serve as an impetus for future investigations of a neglected and important area of study.

CHICANO GANG MEMBERSHIP, FAMILISM, AND SOCIAL SUPPORT: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF CONFLICTING THEORETICAL MODELS

Introduction and Theoretical Overview

This study examines an important but much neglected area of research, the association among social support, familism, and gang membership. The persistence of gangs and delinquency among Chicano youth is undeniable and has reportedly reached epidemic proportions. At the turn of the century, Carson, Butcher and Mineka (2000) claimed there were 23,388 youth gangs with 664,906 members in the U.S. Nearly a decade earlier, Knox and Tromanhauser (1991) reported that in a five state survey, Latinos made up 59.4% of the gang population. The Annual Report to the California Legislature (2000) reported that in the state of California there were 1,818 Latino gangs comprised of nearly 170,000 members.

The steady rise in gang membership is no longer exclusive to the Southern California area, but is endemic across the state and nation, prompting a steady flow of literature from the social sciences on the "gang problem" (Adler, Ovando & Hocesvar, 1984; Calabrese & Noboa, 1995; Miller, 1958; Mirandé, 1987; Rodeheffer, 1949; Stone, 1999; Vigil, 1983). Other researchers have looked at specific areas of gang affiliation, including group processes with respect to street identity (Vigil, 1988), ethnic identity (Bernal, Saenz & Knight, 1991), clinical treatment (Belitz & Valdez, 1994), clinical and physical assessment (Mondragon, 1995), coping responses (Brezina, 1996), social learning (Brownfield, Thompson & Sorenson, 1997), precursors and consequences to gang membership (Dukes, Martinez & Stein, 1997), gang intervention (Hunsaker, 1981), pride and prejudice among at-risk high school gang members (Wang,

1994), and cultural adjustment among generational delinquents (Buriel, Calzada & Vasquez, 1982).

In recent years there has emerged a proliferation of research addressing various aspects of Chicano² gangs and gang affiliation. Unfortunately, the bulk of this research has expressly focused on adolescents, and research on adult gang members is extremely limited. This study is unique in focusing on the relative role played by friends and family as sources of social support for a sample of adult Chicano gang members. Moreover, this study identifies and critically examines two contradictory theoretical perspectives found in the literature on gangs, relative to the relationship between familism, social support, and gang membership—the Multiple Marginality approach, and the Surrogate Family approach.

The Multiple Marginality Model

The first, and prevailing theoretical model, termed “*Multiple Marginality*,” has been most clearly articulated and applied by anthropologist, James (Diego) Vigil (2002; 1988), first in his classic book, *Barrio Gangs*, and more recently in *Street Cultures in the Mega-City: A Rainbow of Gangs*. The Multiple Marginality concept posits that urban street gangs in general, and Mexican American gangs in particular, essentially develop out of poverty, discrimination, and the marginalized and tenuous existence of minority youth in urban areas.³ Accordingly, Chicano gang members are socially, economically, and spatially isolated, thus marginalized from mainstream society. Because of their impoverished economic condition, many *barrio* parents are forced to work long hours to support their families, resulting in a decline of the “traditional family” and an “erosion of parental authority.” This is evidenced by rising rates of divorce and an increase in father absence, which creates a lack of consistent parental supervision. The breakdown of the family and their experience with school failure, consequently leads Chicano youth to begin to spend more time on the streets and increasingly turn to gang affiliated peers, rather than to their families or schools for social support, acceptance, approval, identity formation, and self-affirmation. These conditions lead youth to undergo a process, which Vigil (2002; 1988) termed “*choloization*.”

Vigil (1988) operationally defined a Chicano gang not only as a marginalized group (for review see: Park, 1928), but also as a top-competitor with other socially grounded institutions, such as family and schools that help to guide and shape self-identification. Specifically, Vigil contended that the process of “street socialization” occurred when these institutions were non-existent or had simply failed. Furthermore, during the “*choloization*” process, Vigil (2002; 1988) posited that the gang becomes a collective broker of internal norms and functions, further claiming that the gang also serves as a role provider, offering the new recruit a model of what he should think about himself, how to dress, and most critically how he should act-- a socialization modeling process usually reserved for a parent, older sibling, or caregiver. Since gang members’ “*homeboys*” (e.g., fellow barrio residents, childhood friends, or in frequent occurrences extended family members) are afforded this window of opportunity to “*school*” (teach) him, it is very common for the individual to be lured into the involvement of deviant behavior simply to integrate with the group and gain “approval and acceptance.”

Although the early deficit model, which prevailed in the 1950’s and 1960’s, blamed the Chicano family for delinquency,⁴ most researchers today are reluctant to attribute delinquency directly to the family. However, some researchers have found that the families of delinquents tended not to help their children with appropriate role playing, not to have prepared them to do well academically, and to have not aided them with the internalization of norms (Adler, Ovando & Hocevar, 1984). Other researchers have considered ineffective intra-familial relations among the immediate families of gang members as the root cause of the recent rise in gang membership (Calabrese & Barton, 1995; Lloyd, 1985; Paulson, Coombs & Landsverk, 1990). In a broader context, Dukes, Martinez and Stein (1997) pointed to a lack of social integration as being a liability, not necessarily resulting from family functioning.

Despite many years of researching Chicano gangs, Vigil (2002) remains steadfast in maintaining that it is family dysfunction brought about by social disorganization which plays the most significant role in prompting Chicano youth to join gangs, arguing that “Disruptions in family life place stress on parenting practices and duties...often resulting in abbrevi-

ated or curtailed supervision and direction of household children" (8). Although Vigil has offered much insight on these topics, he has provided limited data to support these assertions. While the Multiple Marginality approach is useful in explaining the socio-ecological circumstances that prompt gang enjoiment, it fails to pay sufficient attention to the role played by the family and familism in the creation and maintenance of street gangs.

The Surrogate Family Model, Chicano Gangs, and Familism

This study was predicated on whether Chicano adult gang members were more likely to turn to friends or to family for moral or emotional support. For example, whom do gang members turn to for support or advice relative to intimate relations or sex? Another area examined is whether friends or family are more likely to be perceived as accepting them for "who" they are, rather than "what" they are? Most importantly, however, this study sought to measure whether the degree of social support between this sample of adult gang members and their family and friends increased, decreased, or remained constant, as they matured into adulthood, although focusing more on family and its relation to gang enjoiment.

As a result, another approach in contrast to the Multiple Marginality perspective sees the gang as a "Surrogate Family" (Morales, 1992; Belitz & Valdez, 1994; Ruble & Turner, 2000) and generally views gangs as reinforcing, not undermining, traditional family values. Rather than seeing the gang as supplanting or eroding the traditional Chicano family, according to the Surrogate Family model, Chicano gangs are extensions of the Chicano family. Chicano families are often virtually coterminous with Chicano gangs, so that family members are typically incorporated into gangs, and the gang becomes a sort of surrogate family. Chicano gangs, in turn, promote and reinforce traditional family values, so that they come to be and typically maintain themselves as extensions of Chicano families. According to the Surrogate Family approach, in terms of social support, Chicano families can often resemble a gang, and gangs, in turn, are like Chicano families.

The Chicano family has been widely studied and analyzed (Gowan & Trevino, 1998; Reuschenburg & Buriel, 1993; Schumm, McCollum,

Bugaighis, Jurich, Bollman & Reitz, 1988; Temple-Trujillo, 1974; Zapata & Jaramillo, 1987), but few studies have attempted to examine the relationship between la *familia* and gang membership. Zapata and Jaramillo (1987) attempted to analyze previous works pertaining to the Chicano family by focusing on the psychosocial development of sibling role perceptions, alliances among family members, and family management. Following this approach, a holistic method for examining gang affiliation should integrate the role of familism in promoting or deterring gang membership. I contend that what sets Chicano male gang members apart, then, is their incorporated value of familism indoctrinated by immediate and extended family members, which compensates for the often-reported absences by one or both parents, usually the father.

There is considerable support for the view that Chicanos, including gang members, value the presence of family members, making it important for them to contact or visit with their relatives regularly. Keefe (1984) offered that face to face visits, to embrace, to touch, and to simply be with one another to share the minor joys and sorrows of daily life are the most desired by Chicanos. Further, kinship networks can be as large or limited to the individual's choice, but it is the nuclear family household that serves as the basic social unit. However, Keefe (1984) posited that the extended Chicano family serves parallel to the nuclear family, especially to the native U.S. born Chicanos, who are more likely to have nearly significant relatives, visiting with them frequently and exchanging goods or bartering services. In addition, Chicano families may include "fictive kin," being of a religious or secularized nature, such as *Compadres*, *Comadres*, *Ninos*, *Ninas*, etc., but it is the ties between parents and children, and between siblings that are the most significant.

Citing Sotomayer (1971), Temple-Trujillo (1974) described the Chicano family as being largely segregated from the mainstream, holding the capacity of preserving human relationships and feeling the satisfaction derived from these interactions. Furthermore, she acknowledged that other researchers have misinterpreted this quality as dependence, resulting from strong interdependence within the family. Further, Temple-Trujillo (1974) asserted that a Chicano child growing up in a network of friends and relatives tends to have many caretakers and is cognizant and

sensitive to the fact that there are many alternative sources of love. Even further, Temple-Trujillo posited that when the family is viewed as a source of strength, it serves as a support system, reinforcing the capacity of the extended family to offer emotional support to the individual who suffers psychological stress incurred from external systems. In sum, the greatest strengths of the Chicano family are its' foci and stress on human relationships and communal orientation, or social support.

On the other hand, other literature has pointed to the gravity of an absent biological father, and to its function in triggering gang enjoinment among children (Adler et al, 1984; Calabrese & Noboa, 1995; Negola, 1998; Wood, Furlong, Rosenblatt, Robertson, Scozzari & Sosna, 1997). In an interview with an active gang member³ he reported the difficulty he and his brother have experienced not having a father around,

The only homies that I know who have single parents are moms...my dad is living on the next block in my grandma's house...it is hard, especially for my mom who is raising two boys. Sometimes there is some stuff you can't talk to your moms about, makes it hard when you ain't got your dad around. Sometimes I talk to my step-dad or my Nino (Godfather), they usually tell me the stuff that I need to know.

Most of the literature reviewed reported a higher probability of single-parent mothers as being the only present caregiver in the households of active gang members. The Anglocentric notion that an absent father is not only detrimental to the welfare of his children, but also causes children to join gangs, is inconsistent with the available literature on Chicano familism.

Specifically, this literature corroborates Spooks' experience and points to the presence of extended family members such as *Tios*, *Primos*, *Padrinos*, *Abuelos*, etc., who assist the nuclear family and often serve as surrogate father-figures for children, and also to the Mexican American mother as a strong force in raising her children, and maintaining the greatest concern to help her child "have a better life," with "health and happiness," and also to provide "safety and protection" (Zambrana, Silva-Palacios & Powell, 1992).

Because of the high prevalence of adaptation to family functioning among Chicano gang members, they are poised to integrate familistic values into interactions with associates. That is, a gang affiliate who has attained high valuation of familism may perceive his peers as siblings, or as extended family members, not simply as peers. On the other hand, a gang member may seek peer support from a non-familial resource such as the gang when he or she experiences low satisfaction with family life such as minimal to no family cohesion, or increased family conflict, etc. (Cox, 1996).

I propose using Chicano familism to investigate specific psychosocial activities among adult Chicano gang members. In addressing these behaviors, Ruble and Turner (2000) reported fluidity in Chicano gang membership across immediate family and extended family lines within the constraints of the *barrio* for what the researchers identified as “suprasystematic protection,” or a protection network which includes the gang member’s nuclear and extended families living closely together in the same *barrio*. When Spooks was asked about his family in the *barrio*, he responded,

My grandma lives over on the next block, she is one of the original *barrio* families, she’s been there a long time...the whole next block is my family, it’s like a family street...one thing about being in gangs, you don’t disrespect your moms, and you keep the whole family safe.

Thus, it is important to further explore the Chicano family network from this standpoint to appraise its environmental influence on gang members’ conviction to both extended and immediate families’ protection and valuation.

In an effort to combine gang and family life, Ruble and Turner (2000) introduced a more profound and basically comprehensive method for examining gangs, citing the interplay between the fundamental gang structure and its comparable family system. The pair of researchers suggested that the gang itself serves as a family, or more specifically, a surrogate family. Ruble and Turner (2000) warned of the danger in actively participating in violent gang interludes; however, the gang can buffer emotional distress, provide cohesiveness, closeness and acceptance that

they may be deprived of elsewhere such as their biological family, or its equivalent. The authors also put forth that gangs function successfully on an “inter-relatedness” that coalesces every feature of family and gang life together in an intricate web of interactions.

This study seeks to test the validity of the Multiple Marginality and the Surrogate Family views of Chicano gangs by assessing sources of social support for older Chicano gang members. In particular, the study examines whether or not adult Chicano gang members were more likely to draw social support primarily from their immediate and extended family members rather than from their peers.

M E T H O D S

Participants: Social and Demographic Characteristics

Descriptive statistics for the fifty-two adult Chicano male gang members from the greater Los Angeles area who served as participants for this study are portrayed in Table 1. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 53 years old, while the mean age was 29.6 (SD = 10.4). The mean age of gang enjoinderment was 12.6 years (SD = 2.2). The average income among these participants fell between 20,000 and 30,000 dollars. Further, the gang affiliates had a mean of 10.6 (SD = 1.9) years of school completed, 10 (19.2%) reported reaching their senior year, and only 3 (5.8%) said they had graduated with a diploma or GED, or had attended some college. Most of the participants stated that they were employed. Those who were not were actively seeking regular employment. The majority 53.8% reported being single, unmarried, or living at home, while 17.3% reported being married and 15.4% were living with someone. Only 13.7% were divorced or separated. The participants reported having an average of 2 children (M = 1.9, SD = 1.9), the range of the number of children the participants fathered were from none to eight, 28.8% had no children, 25% had only one, 17.3% had two children, and the remainder fathered between 3 and 8 children.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Characteristics	N	Mean (or %)	SD
Age (in years)	52	29.61	10.41
Years of school	52	10.55	1.89
Number of children	52	1.86	1.91
Age of gang enjoiment (in years)	52	12.59	2.19
Total family income	52	\$20,000-30,000	--
What is your marital status			
Single (living at home-never been married)	28	53.8%	--
Married	9	17.3%	--
Living With Someone	8	15.4%	--
Divorced (or Separated)	7	13.5%	--
Social Support	52	4.5	1.23

The Chicano Gang Social Support Scale (CGSSS)

The Chicano Gang Social Support Scale (CGSSS)⁶ was used to examine the relationship between gang membership and social support among the participants. The CGSSS was created from ten 6-point Likertscale questions in English, which were then administered to the 52 participants (see Appendix 1). To prompt forced-choice replies, participants were asked to circle numbers 1, 2, or 3 if they drew more social support mainly from friends, or 4, 5, or 6 if they drew more social support mainly from their family. The degree of social support was based on the number circled, 1 being the highest for friends and 6 being the highest degree for family. As seen in Table 1, the reported mean social support was 4.5 (SD = 1.23), scoring more favorably for the family. Inter-item correlations for the scales are presented in Table 2. Item analyses on the CGSSS rendered a reliability alpha level of .89.

Table 2. Chicano Gang Social Support Scale Correlation Matrix

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
SocSup1	--									
SocSup2	.569**	--								
SocSup3	.619**	.688**	--							
SocSup4	.604**	.622**	.692**	--						
SocSup5	.385**	.701**	.434**	.601**	--					
SocSup6	.228	.266	.380**	.284*	.087	--				
SocSup7	.569**	.654**	.644**	.659**	.576**	.205	--			
SocSup8	.412**	.218	.543**	.352*	-.020	.308*	.376**	--		
SocSup9	.457**	.529**	.491**	.487**	.568**	.212	.381**	.366**	--	
SocSup10	.659**	.579**	.504**	.460**	.502**	.214	.549**	.398**	.415**	--

N = 52 Alpha = .8932 Standardized Alpha = .8926

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Data Collection

Some of the participants in this study were contacted in person or by phone; most were approached in the field during the day walking around in various Southern California *barrios*. In East Los Angeles some potential participants working or seeking work at “*Jobs for the Future*” were contacted by phone, then interviewed in person. Others were approached in front of the Department of Corrections Parole Office in Pomona, others in front of the unemployment office in East Los Angeles. However, the majority of the participants, as mentioned above, were approached “on the streets.”

The participants were identified as possible gang members based on their dress, which included mostly baggy pants or shorts, dress shirts, t-shirts, sports jerseys, and other attire. Other identifiers were those with bald-heads or short hair, tattoos, and the use of some gang terminology while

in conversation. It is also important to note that I am consistently identified as a current or former gang affiliate due to my appearance, subsequently giving me “insider” access to an otherwise difficult population to pervade. For this reason, it is advised that not everyone should approach suspected gang members in search of potential respondents in the field. Nevertheless, it is imperative that more researchers embark on similar investigations under similar conditions.

When approached, the participants were asked if they had “about ten minutes.” Then they were asked if they were Chicano, over eighteen-years old, and if they were gang members. If a potential participant answered no to any of the inquiries, he was thanked for his time before I dismissed myself. When the gang associate would answer yes to all three of the questions, he was informed that if he filled out the questionnaire to the best of his ability, he would be compensated with a \$5 gift certificate to a fast food eatery of his choice including Carl’s Jr., McDonalds, Subway, Burger King, or In-N-Out. Most of the participants filled out the questionnaire in less than twenty minutes. Upon completion of the questionnaire, it was reviewed to find any answers that were overlooked and went unanswered by the participant; if there were any found, the participants were asked to make the appropriate corrections. The questionnaire was offered to the participants in both English and Spanish; none of them chose to respond in Spanish. And, all participants read proficiently enough to complete the questionnaire on their own.

One of the aims of this study was to interview gang members in their natural milieu. In general, incarcerated participants may tend to report lower rates of social support from family members and higher rates from their fellow inmates. This research seeks to overcome this limitation by targeting non-incarcerated adult gang members in their living-environment (i.e., neighborhood hang outs, stores, resource centers, etc.), thereby garnering more valid and unbiased responses from individuals who are in contact with both family and friends. One researcher (Warr, 1993) argued the importance of involving family members in delinquency investigations; therefore, future studies on the intersection of social support, gang membership, and familism, should essentially include family members.

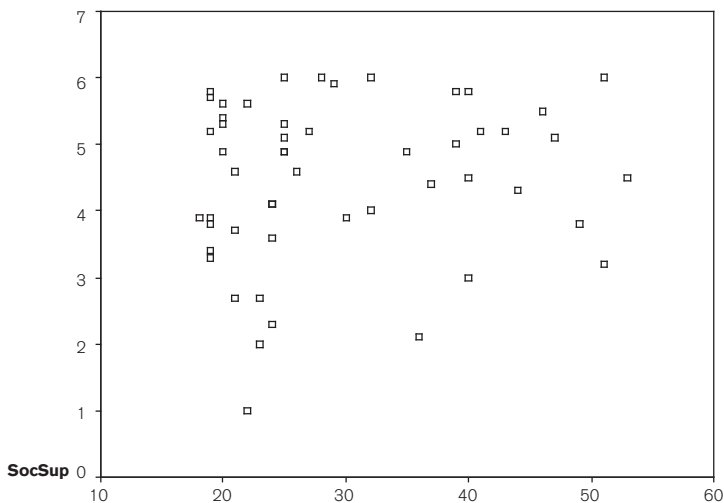
FINDINGS

A linear regression analysis was conducted to evaluate the prediction of reported social support from the age of the Chicano gang participants. Data in Scatterplot 1 for the two variables indicated that the two variables are not linearly related such that as overall age increases, the rate of social support remains constant showing no significant correlational changes. The regression equation for predicting the overall social support index was,

$$\text{Predicted Overall Social Support} = 1.50 \text{ Overall Age} + 4.03$$

Contrary to the hypothesis, increased age did not predict increased family social support (values 4 -6 on social support scale) among the sample of Chicano gang members. Accuracy in predicting the overall social support index ($B = .13$) was small. The correlation between the social support index and age was 1.50 , $t(50) = .93$, $p = .001$. Approximately 9% of the variance of the social support index was accounted for by its relationship age. Even when controlling for gang enjojnement in the ANOVA linear model, statistical significance failed to materialize between age and social support, suggesting that contrary to Vigil's (2002; 1988) assertion, even

Scatterplot 1. Age and Social Support



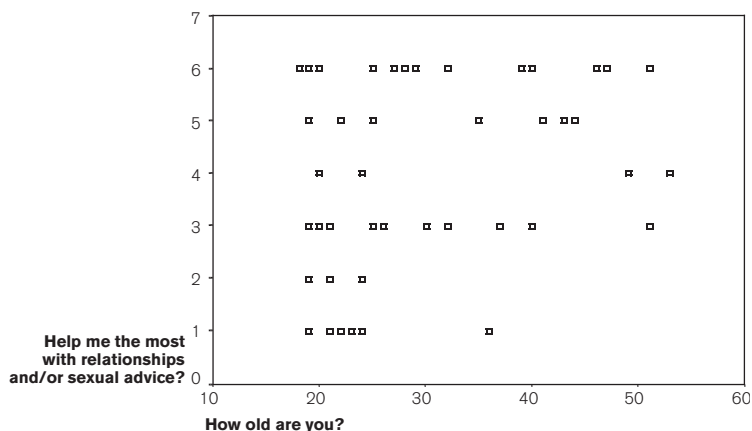
as adolescents these Chicano gang members sought more advice from their families than from their peers.

Although age did not significantly impact overall social support, two scale items were significantly correlated when analyzed separately with age. The first was “Who helps me the most with relationships and/or sexual advice?” As hypothesized, the data in Scatterplot 2 indicated that with increasing age, adult Chicano gang members significantly turn to their families for help with relationships and/or sexual advice. The regression equation for predicting the overall help with relationships and/or sexual advice index was,

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Predicted Help With Relationships and/or Sexual Advice} \\ & = 5.21 \text{ Overall Age} + 2.5 \end{aligned}$$

Accuracy in predicting the overall help with relationships and/or sexual advice index ($B = 30$) was moderate. The correlation between the age index and the help with relationships and/or sexual advice index was .30, $t(50) = 2.2$, $p = .001$. Approximately 4.8% of the variance of the help with relationships and/or sexual advice index was accounted for by its

Scatterplot 2. Age and Help with Relationships



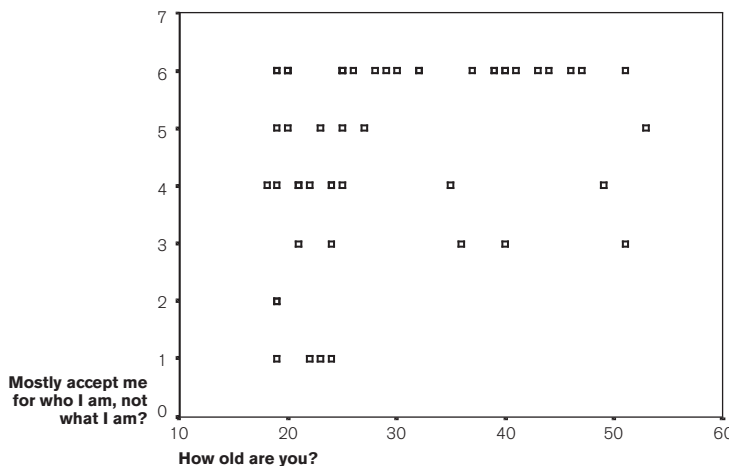
linear relationship with the age. When age alone was related to gang enjoyment, the effect of age was significant ($b = .052$, $t = 2.195$; $p < .033$). The impact of age on the scale item stayed about the same after controlling for the potentially confounding effect of gang enjoyment ($b = .053$, $t = 2.357$; $p < .022$). This indicates that contrary to expected changes from Vigil's Multiple Marginality model; young Chicano gang members seek advice from both peers and from their families.

The second scale item analyzed separately was "Who mostly accepts me for who I am, not what I am?" As expected, the data in Scatterplot 3 for the two variables indicated that as age increased adult Chicano gang members perceived their family more so than their friends to accept them for who they were and not for what they were. The regression equation for predicting the overall, mostly accept me for who I am, not what I am index was,

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Mostly Accept Me For Who I Am, Not What I Am} \\ &= 4.56 \text{ Overall Age} + 3.32 \end{aligned}$$

Scatterplot 3. Age and Accept me for Who I Am

Marginality model; young Chicano gang members seek advice from both peers and from their families.



Accuracy in predicting the acceptance for who I am, not what I am index ($B = .30$) was moderate. The correlation between the age index and being accepted for who they were, not what they were index was $.30$, $t(50) = 2.2$, $p = .001$. Approximately 4.8% of the variance of being accepted for who I am, not what I am index was accounted for by its linear relationship with the age index. When age alone was related to gang enjoyment, the effect of age was significant ($b = 4.56$, $t = 2.19$; $p < .033$). Again, when controlling for the mean age of gang enjoyment in the ANOVA linear model, the impact of age on the scale item stayed about the same after controlling for the potentially confounding effect of gang enjoyment ($b = 4.56$, $t = 2.357$; $p < .022$), suggesting that adult Chicano gang members would seek more advice from their peers than from their families.

Discussion

Taken together this study's results suggest that the core value of Mexican culture, familism, is strong for Chicano gang members in adolescence and into adulthood. Age at gang enjoyment appears to have a moderating impact on the relationship between age and social support, although the effect is weak. The findings show that to some degree Chicano gang members seek support from their family as well as their peers during adolescence. The findings call into question earlier claims put forth by proponents of the Multiple Marginality concept (Belitz & Valdez, 1994; Cox, 1996; Dukes et al, 1997; Vigil, 2002; 1988; 1983; Wood et al, 1997) who argue that a dysfunctional "home-life" and the disintegration of the family propels Chicano youth to seek external support from peers.

These findings also support Schumm et al (1988) who compared Anglos and Latinos, and concluded that Latinos reported higher satisfaction with family life, especially among adolescents. Furthermore, Brownfield et al (1997) concluded that Latinos are more likely than Anglos to join gangs, but that gang enjoyment had little to do with family dysfunction, nor poor communication with either parent. These findings are also consistent with those of other researchers (Buriel, Calzada & Vasquez, 1982; Calabrese & Noboa, 1995; Ruble & Turner, 2000) who have examined gang affiliation in the context of "*familia*."

In light of the kin-based and multiplex character of networks within the Chicano community, Keefe (1984) posited that this is why social scientists have reported that this group has stronger extended families anchored on geographic stability, specifically among networks of people living within a limited geographic area in which personal contact is frequent.

Subsequently, the Chicano family serves as an emotional support system from which members draw more support than from external sources; therefore, the family is the single most important institution for the Chicano (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin & Perez-Stable, 1987). While this study's findings point in this direction they must be interpreted with caution due to the sample's size and non-representativeness.

When discussing adult Chicano gang members, it becomes evident that there is a lack of study dedicated to the "*veterano*" (older) gang members, specifically those over eighteen years old. Some accounts have focused on older gang members in the context of "*prison gangs*," but much has yet to be learned about how they navigate on the "*outside*" (in society). Further investigations should also focus on gang members who are reaching an age of wanting to "*settle down*" (e.g., divergently mobilizing from criminal activities, living with a partner, getting married, etc.). Reference is often made in the literature to the "*vato locos*" and the "*veteranos*" via ethnological (Vigil, 1988), clinical (Belitz & Valdez, 1994), and sociocultural contributions (Mirandé, 1987; 1985), yet there is insufficient exploration into their overall function, aims, and or valuation of the family, or contrariwise, of their valuation of their peers' support.

To reiterate, Ruble and Turner (2000) suggested that future successful research endeavors, and both prevention and intervention programs, should aim at gangs from a holistic and systematic perspective. It is clear that more longitudinal research on gang members, especially adult Chicano gang members, is necessary to untangle the complexities of the union between Chicano gang members, their families, and social support.

Endnotes

- 1 Thank you all for your time, support, and suggestions: Alfredo Mirandé, Edna Bonacich, Scott Coltrane, Jose Calderón, Agustín Kposowa.
- 2 This study will address Mexican, or Mexican American, gang members by using the term Chicano and Mexican American interchangeably (see: Fairchild & Cozens, 1981). "Chicano" is clearly the preferred term of gang members.
- 3 In his most recent work, *Rainbow of Gangs*, Vigil applies the multiply marginality approach to various racial groups in Los Angeles.
- 4 For a critique of this view, see, Alfredo Mirandé, "The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 39, November 1977, pp. 747-756.
- 5 Spooks is a 21 year-old Chicano active gang member in Ontario CA. The following quote was taken from an interview I had with him in March 2002 while conducting a case study relative to himself and his family-life.
- 6 The ten questions represented a subset of a larger Social Support scale in the "Cultural Adjustment Project- Latino Community Sample," conducted by Pitzer College Professor Norma Rodriguez PhD and supported by the National Institute for Mental Health.
- 7 For further review of the insider/outsider perspective, Alfredo Mirandé (1978), "Chicano Sociology: A New Paradigm for Social Science," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 21, 3, pp. 293-312. Also see, Maxine Baca Zinn (1979), "Field Research in Minority Communities: Ethical, Methodological and Political Observations by an Insider." *Social Problems*, 27, 2, pp. 209-219. Also see Alfredo Mirandé (1982), "Sociology of Chicanos or Chicano Sociology? A Critical Assessment of Emergent Paradigms," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 25, 4, pp. 495-508.

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Appendix 1: Social Support Scale

1. PROVIDE ME WITH MORAL SUPPORT

2. I ENJOY SHARING MY GENERAL IDEAS MOSTLY WITH...

3. PROVIDE ME WITH THE MOST EMOTIONAL SUPPORT...

4. I TALK ABOUT MY PERSONAL PROBLEMS MOSTLY WITH...

5. I ENJOY SPENDING MY FREE TIME MOSTLY WITH...

6. TRY THE MOST TO KEEP ME AWAY FROM DRUGS AND ALCOHOL...

7. HELP ME THE MOST WITH RELATIONSHIPS AND/OR SEXUAL ADVICE...

8. PUSH ME THE MOST TO SEEK AND KEEP EMPLOYMENT...

9. ENJOY HEARING ABOUT MY GENERAL LIFE EXPERIENCES THE MOST...

10. MOSTLY ACCEPT ME FOR WHO I AM, NOT WHAT I AM...

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Political Repression of a Chicano Movement Activist: The Plight of Francisco E. “Kiko” Martínez¹

James Barrera, South Texas College

During the latter half of the twentieth century, the U.S. government attempted to covertly subdue the progressive activity of numerous social justice and civil rights movements in our society. One of the government's key objectives in this activity involved the political repression of certain leaders of these movements, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Black Civil Rights Movement), Malcolm X (Black Nationalist Movement), and Russell Means (American Indian Movement).

Leaders of the Chicano Movement were also among the government's most scrutinized and pursued “political targets” during this era that spanned through the 1960s and well into the 1970s. For example, Rodolfo “Corky” González, Reies López Tijerina, César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and José Angel Gutiérrez were targeted for their involvement in movements that advocated for social change, economic justice, and political equality. They often experienced harassment, arrest, and incarceration by federal, state, and local law enforcement officials for their role and participation in civil rights protest activity that was constitutionally protected.² Sometimes, government officials went as far as to resort to unlawful modes of repression to falsely implicate and imprison activists because

of their supposed threat to American democracy and its status quo, and for allegedly having ties to the Communist Party.³ Another lesser-known movement participant who merits particular attention and recognition is Francisco E. “Kiko” Martínez, a Chicano activist attorney from the southern Colorado city of Alamosa.

COINTELPRO

Before analyzing the major events of Martínez’s life as a “political target,” we must better understand the FBI’s counter-intelligence program known as COINTELPRO. This program, initiated in 1956 by then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, was organized to identify and incriminate American Communist Party activists and their supporters. Although FBI officials had often “disrupted” the activities of suspected radical groups since the early 1940s, the creation of COINTELPRO represented a formal program based on written protocol that permitted the use of extralegal methods against those perceived as dissident rabble-rousers or “un-American.”⁴ COINTELPRO was a product of the ostensible “Age of McCarthyism,” which was fueled by the anti-communist hysteria that swept the nation during the 1950s.

Hoover summarizes COINTELPRO’s original goal to eradicate communist ties in America:

The forces which are most anxious to weaken our internal security are not always easy to identify. Communists have been trained in deceit and secretly work toward the day when they hope to replace our American way of life with a Communist dictatorship. They utilize cleverly camouflaged movements, such as peace groups and civil rights groups to achieve their sinister purposes. While they as individuals are difficult to identify, the Communist party line is clear. Its first concern is the advancement of Soviet Russia and the godless Communist cause. It is important to learn to know the enemies of the American way of life.⁵

By adhering to this theory, Hoover believed all social movements discreetly advocated the spread of communism in the United States during the

mid-twentieth century. However, the FBI has yet to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that communist ties existed with any civil rights and anti-war groups. During the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and counterculture era, COINTELPRO's main objective was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize *the enemies of the State*."⁶ This purpose was achieved in large part by imprisoning movement activists who were "criminalized" through false charges, frame-ups, and slanderous publications printed in their names.⁷ According to legal analyst Brian Glick, one of the four methods of COINTELPRO-type political repression employed by both the FBI and police included the exploitation of the judicial system to wrongfully incarcerate dissidents.⁸ Examining Martínez as a movement activist who experienced governmental persecution is a case in point.

KIKO MARTÍNEZ AS POLITICAL TARGET

Prior to facing political repression in 1973, Martínez represented numerous Chicano clients, including students, prison inmates, and workers. In essence, his clients were most often those who could not afford to hire legal assistance. Most likely, however, FBI officials targeted Martínez for COINTELPRO surveillance and repression for his participation in Chicano movement activities and for his outspoken criticism of Colorado's state penitentiary system.⁹ In addition, Colorado's varied criminal justice agencies, with the help of the FBI, probably used the mass media to aid in a campaign that worked to undermine Martínez' social justice activities. Fearing capture and unjust imprisonment, Martínez exiled himself to Mexico in order to protect himself from state-initiated threats to his freedom and life. Seven years later in 1980, Martínez returned to the U.S. to proclaim his innocence to the criminal charges and refute both federal and state government's criminal accusations against him.

Because of the above, I argue that Francisco E. Martínez can be categorized as a "political target." I define a political target as one selected by the federal government "for criminal persecution because of their political activity, when they [government officials] can fabricate evidence against

that person and suppress evidence proving that fabrication, and prosecute a person(s) and put them in prison for any amount of time, including for life.”¹⁰ A brief discussion of Martínez’ background will shed light on why he became a political target. I then discuss in more detail the events that local and state criminal justice and legal officials manipulated in order to aid COINTELPRO agents in the villification of Martínez, and which served to justify the unwarranted repression he endured. I specifically review a key court case brought against Martínez to highlight the cumulative and disadvantageous legal ramifications it had in later legal machinations by local, state, and federal law enforcement and legal representatives.

KIKO MARTÍNEZ BACKGROUND

Francisco Eugenio “Kiko” Martínez was born on November 26, 1946 in Alamosa, Colorado to Mr. and Mrs. José Martínez. He graduated from Alamosa High School in 1964. In 1966, Martínez joined and supported the activities of the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano social justice organization founded by Rodolfo “Corky” González in Denver, Colorado.¹¹ He attended Adams State College in Alamosa where he studied anthropology, sociology, and business administration, and graduated in 1968. In 1970, Martínez served as an intern at Salud y Justicia (Health and Justice), an agency that provided legal, health, and social work assistance for agricultural workers. Throughout his college and law school years, Martínez began training for a life-long career in providing legal services in civil law to underprivileged ethnic Mexican communities, migrant farmworkers, Chicano university students, and families. Martínez’s childhood and adolescent years as a migrant worker and student enabled him to understand the adverse circumstances faced by these people in society, which influenced him to pursue a career as a lawyer to assist them in civil cases.¹² As a young man, Martínez became a product of the Chicano Movement, which promoted the political and civil rights of ethnic Mexican people.

In 1971, he enrolled at the University of Minnesota’s School of Law where he emerged as a strong advocate for prison inmates and Native American and Chicano legal rights. During his early years as an attorney in the 1970s, Martínez often represented and counseled Chicano inmates at the Colorado State Penitentiary at Canon City and members of the United

Mexican American Students (UMAS) organization at the University of Colorado—Boulder. Additionally, Martínez defended numerous individuals also charged with crimes in Colorado and New Mexico.¹³

Martínez first gained attention for expressing his discontent with the criminal justice system when refusing to answer one question on the Colorado state bar exam after finishing law school in 1971. He contended that this question was offensive and demeaning to Native Americans. According to Martínez, such a question characterized Native Americans as “squaws,” like in the movie *Little Big Man*, which offered an inaccurate and false portrayal of native peoples’ culture in America.¹⁴ He and American Indian Movement activists opposed the inclusion of the question on the state bar exam by protesting outside the Supreme Court of Colorado in October 1971. However, this protest did not actually lead to the disallowance of the question at the time. Martínez’s refusal to respond to the question represents his opposition to the use of racial stereotypes of Native Americans not only on state bar exams, but in the U.S. legal system. Despite Martínez’s refusal to answer this question in order to protest its inclusion on the bar exam, he passed and received his law license.¹⁵

In the early 1970s, Martínez joined the Crusade for Justice, formed by renowned Chicano Movement leader Rodolfo “Corky” González. Martínez spoke out against the adverse conditions faced by Mexican American prison inmates in the Colorado penal system. Prior to completing law school, Martínez participated in summer internships and worked under Jonathan B. Chase in the Colorado Rural Legal Services. This type of work experience helped him learn about the types of mistreatment against Chicano prisoners. Martínez recalled that certain inmates reported to him that various prison officials routinely whipped them without provocation. In 1971, Martínez organized the Latin American Development Society in the Colorado prison system in response to such mistreatment and to assist inmates in the forming of a self-help group. This group represented Martínez’s call for reform of the state prison system. He also questioned prison officials about why Chicanos comprised fifty percent of all incarcerated persons in the state penitentiaries. Consequently, prison administrators regarded his argument as insignificant and made very little effort, if any, to prevent the abuse of Chicano inmates.¹⁶

Because of his continued involvement with the Crusade for Justice while gaining educational and professional credentials and practicing as a lawyer, Kiko Martínez became a prime target for law enforcement surveillance during the early to mid-1970s. His part in the controversial Ricardo Falcón murder case served to arouse further suspicion for him. His status as a political target became solidified with his alleged roles in attempted Denver city bombings.

MARTÍNEZ'S WORK IN THE RICARDO FALCÓN MURDER CASE

While active in the La Raza Legal Association and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) in 1972, Martínez served and testified in the famous murder trial of Chicano activist and school teacher Ricardo Falcón. The murder occurred while Ricardo Falcón and a small group of his peers, including Martinez, were traveling from Fort Lupton, Colorado to the national convention for the La Raza Unida independent political party in El Paso, Texas on August 30, 1972. The controversy surrounding Falcón's murder attracted much attention from the Chicano community both in Colorado and at the national level. Martínez became closely involved in the case in order to positively identify Falcón's murderer.

The murder occurred shortly after the group had stopped at an Orogrande, New Mexico gas station when their car overheated. An argument developed when gas station owner Perry Brunson refused car driver Florencio Granado's request to water down the car while the gas tank was filling. In fact, Brunson's response to Granado's request was, "We don't waste water around here. It's expensive." Falcón took offense to the reply and involved himself in the argument between Brunson and Granado. Upon Brunson's return to the station office, Falcón suspected that Brunson had a gun and asked if he did so. Brunson sarcastically remarked, "Come over here and find out." Falcón complied and shortly after entering the station office, gunfire rang out leaving Falcón dead from a wound suffered by a 38 police special pistol.

Immediately after the shooting occurred, Falcón's companions went to businesses nearby in an attempt to telephone the shooting to the local

police. They were refused service. However, police arrived at the scene minutes after the shooting upon receiving a telephone call from Brunson. An ambulance finally arrived an hour after Falcón was shot. After police apprehended and detained Brunson for a short period of time, Robert Bradley, local magistrate and Brunson's personal friend, released him on his own recognizance.¹⁷

The news of Falcón's murder became widespread, and prompted many in the Chicano community to speak out against Brunson, the prime suspect of the shooting. Among them was South Dakota Senator George McGovern who denounced Brunson's action as "an act of insanity."¹⁸ He further remarked, "I am shocked at the killing of young Richard Falcón. I assure you of my efforts to see that justice is done in this act of insanity. I am contacting the U.S. attorney general to see that immediate action be taken to initiate investigative proceedings."¹⁹ However, McGovern later retracted his statement after requested to do so by Brunson's lawyer, Albert J. Rivera. Rivera made the request "in the interest of fair play," implying that Brunson was innocent of the murder charge until proven guilty.²⁰

Raza Unida Party convention organizers expressed their outrage over the incident upon hearing about Falcon's tragic death. In a telegram to President Richard Nixon and attorney general Richard Kleindienst, they demanded a federal investigation into the murder, which stated in part:

Cannot an American citizen obtain emergency services in American cities, on American roads without fear for his life? Cannot a Chicano attend a political convention without fear or loss of his life? The National Office of the Raza Unida Party and all state delegates present hereby demand immediate investigation of this wanton, racist murder. The Perry Brunsons of America must be brought to justice.²¹

Shortly after Falcón's death, Kiko Martínez and fellow Colorado attorney Kenneth Padilla investigated the incident to suggest a possible course of legal action. They also served as the spokesmen for Falcón's widow, Priscilla. Their work was instrumental in bringing forth a criminal manslaughter case against Brunson in December of 1972. The trial, held

in Alamogordo, New Mexico, came to a surprising and stunning end after two days when Brunson was acquitted of the manslaughter charge.

Chicano activists and members of Falcón's family were not present when the verdict had been announced due to supposedly jury selection proceedings for another trial taking place in the same courtroom.²² Martínez and Padilla could not attend the verdict hearing as well since police had escorted them from the courtroom. These actions provoked an altercation between the lawyers and police with one officer shoving Martínez down the courtroom stairs.²³

Because Martínez actually challenged the American legal system that unjustly allowed for violence to be perpetrated against Chicano activists, COINTELPRO tactics were soon put into place against him. He quickly became singled out by the media for his activist work and rebellious lawyering in the Brunson manslaughter trial. He was also scrutinized for acting "as an informal spokesman for Mrs. Priscilla Falcón during the trial of a man accused of manslaughter in connection with the shooting death of her husband, Richard."²⁴ From here on, federal officials began to closely study Martínez' activities.

THE BEGINNING OF MARTÍNEZ'S POLITICAL REPRESSION

Martínez first experienced unjust political repression while attending a Chicano and Native American Unity conference in Scottsbluff, Nebraska. The conference was held to address social and political issues concerning racial prejudice against Chicana/o and Native American residents in the local area. The incident occurred on January 15, 1973, when Scottsbluff law enforcement officials stopped the car that Martínez and a friend, Francisco Luevano, were driving. Police officers immediately conducted a search of the car, and later arrested Martínez and Luevano on the charge of possessing an explosive device for what police believed was a Molotov cocktail in the car's backseat. According to Martínez, police charged him with the possession of an improvised explosive device.²⁵ Moreover, he asserted that police justified their search of the vehicle based on police finding old rags that smelled of gasoline in the truck of the car.

Both Martínez and Luevano were tried before the Nebraska Supreme Court on this federal criminal charge, and were found “not guilty” since the police search and seizure was declared unconstitutional as it violated the Fourth Amendment.²⁶ Martínez’ trumped up arrest and subsequent trial were indicative of law enforcement tactics that were carried out in an attempt to neutralize Martínez’ social justice agenda.²⁷ This incident possibly represents federal law enforcement’s initial effort to persecute him via the legal system. Martínez believes the judge suppressed evidence and that the police had no reasonable cause to search the automobile.²⁸

DENVER BOMB HYSTERIA

In October 1973, government officials bolstered their efforts to repress Martínez by attempting to indict him in Denver, Colorado on trumped-up criminal charges. The charges included the mailing of three package-box size bombs to African American policewoman Carol Hogue, to local school board member Robert Crider, and to the Two Wheeler Motorcycle Shop. This came during a time when numerous criminal allegations were being leveled by the Denver police against those involved in the Crusade for Justice organization.²⁹ In particular, they alleged that members of the Crusade for Justice were responsible for making and strategically planting homemade bombs throughout numerous locations in the city as a means to violently carry out their social justice agenda. These allegations deeply implicated key Crusade for Justice members in the “bomb hysteria” that swept Denver and Boulder, Colorado throughout the early 1970s.³⁰

There is little doubt that real hostilities existed between the police and the Crusade for Justice and worked to exacerbate perceived and real injustices. For example, Denver law enforcement officers killed a Crusade for Justice activist during a violent confrontation that ensued outside the organization’s headquarters in 1973.³¹ It was during this turbulent period that Denver policewoman Carol Hogue, who was involved in the shootout, alleged that Martínez sent her a bomb in the mail. Shortly thereafter, Robert Shaughnessy, head of the Denver Police Bomb Squad, confirmed this allegation and another allegation of Martínez’ attempt to bomb the Two Wheeler Motorcycle Shop in north Denver.³² These allegations resulted in criminal charges and an indictment being brought forth against Martínez.³³

Probably two of the most well-publicized and tragic incidents, however, were two car bombings that took place in Boulder in May of 1974 and claimed the lives of six young Chicano activists. The first car bombing claimed the life of Kiko's 25 year-old brother, Reyes Martínez, along with 21 year-old Neva Romero and 23 year-old Una Jaakola. Two days later a second car bombing took the lives of Florencio Granado, 32, Heriberto Teran, 24, and Francisco Dougherty, 22. Crusade for Justice activists believed that those who died in the explosions were victims of police and governmental conspiracies intended to neutralize their social justice activities. Furthermore, the subsequent investigation into the six deaths was perceived more as a means of identifying Colorado's Chicano activists' network than an attempt to bring the perpetrators to justice, as various family members and friends of the blast victims were later subpoenaed for investigation by federal authorities.³⁴

Adding to the hysteria were bomb explosions the following year that occurred at Boulder's Flatiron Elementary School, the Colorado University Police Department building, and at the Hall of Justice on Boulder's Courthouse Square.³⁵ These incidents were blamed on Crusade for Justice activists. In 1975, the Crusade for Justice was once again singled out for the placement of a bomb at the meeting location of the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Denver.³⁶

POLITICAL EXILE AND RETURN

Strangely, none of the bombs that Martínez allegedly mailed exploded since law enforcement officials "miraculously" arrived just before they went off. Shortly after his indictment, Martínez' license to practice law in Colorado was suspended. *The Denver Post*, and the federal government offered a reward of up to \$3,000 for information leading to Martínez' arrest. Law enforcement officials first attempted to apprehend him in Denver. However, Martínez managed to elude capture when he and a female friend were driving to their apartment complex.

It was while en route to the apartment complex when they both heard the news report on their car radio that police had unsuccessfully raided two homes in order to try to take him into custody.³⁷ The report further

indicated that Martínez was presumed armed and dangerous. Upon hearing this radio news report, Martínez believed it was a form of intimidation that intended to create widespread hysteria since the police were eager to arrest him.³⁸ Moreover, Martínez feared an assassination attempt on his life by police who were instructed to shoot him “on sight,” underscoring the COINTELPRO technique of sanctioned use of extralegal force or violence.³⁹ Concerned for his safety and wanting to avoid a violent confrontation with police, Martínez left the country for Mexico where he went into exile for seven years.

On September 3, 1980 Martínez attempted to return to the U.S. by crossing the border illegally at Nogales, Arizona under the alias of José Reynoso Díaz.⁴⁰ He used the alias in order to prevent border agents from extraditing him to Colorado if apprehended. His plan almost worked as U.S. Border Patrol agents were unaware that he was “wanted” by Colorado law enforcement officials when he was eventually apprehended, taken into custody, and charged with entering the U.S. illegally and failing to prove citizenship. They became suspicious, however, after discovering a journal in his backpack documenting his childhood years in Alamosa.⁴¹

In seeking to verify Martínez’ identity, officials gave his picture to an army captain at nearby Fort Huachuca who planned to attend an FBI-sponsored conference in Denver, Colorado. At this conference, a Colorado Bureau of Investigation agent positively identified Martínez after seeing the picture.⁴² His identity was verified just before officials were ready to deport him back to Mexico. One official involved in the case expressed relief after receiving confirmation regarding Martínez’s identity saying, “In another 24 hours, we would have lost him.”⁴³

Martínez now faced a formidable challenge both in federal and state courts to avoid incarceration on what seemed to be fabricated charges based on circumstantial evidence. What’s more, the mobilization of bias against Martínez began almost immediately. To illustrate, a local TV news report suggested that Martínez “fled [to Mexico] to avoid prosecution and remained a fugitive until his recent arrest on the Arizona-Mexico border.”⁴⁴ Another TV news report in Denver announced, “Exactly where Martínez spent the last seven years isn’t known but there’s some specula-

tion that he was in Cuba."⁴⁵ A newspaper report similarly echoed that he traveled to Cuba at one time during his exile in Mexico.⁴⁶ Altogether, the media coverage portrayed Martínez as a treacherous political dissident, which worked against him in court proceedings. Once again, this strategy portrays effective methods that were put into place by COINTELPRO operatives.⁴⁷

MARTÍNEZ GOES ON TRIAL

Martínez's long and arduous quest to prove his innocence of the charges brought against him began in the fall of 1980. A grand jury recommended his bond be set at \$150,000, but U.S. District Judge Fred M. Winner decided to set the bond at \$1 million. Kenneth Padilla, Martínez' attorney, argued that the bond was "almost ransom" and more so a denial of bail.⁴⁸ This argument proved successful as Judge Winner later reduced the bond to \$400,000 for the federal charges.⁴⁹ In addition, federal prosecutor John Barksdale could not present substantial evidence that merited a \$1 million bond. In fact, Barksdale admitted that no credible evidence was presented on the issue.

Even so, Barksdale believed that the court should take into account information from newspaper articles revealing that Martínez' fingerprints were discovered on the bombs.⁵⁰ Judge Winner disagreed with Barksdale, contending that the newspaper articles were not admissible proof suggesting Martínez' guilt or innocence. Judge Winner went on to state:

If I ever read any such newspaper stories, I don't remember them, but I couldn't disagree more with the government's claim that a man should be deprived of his liberty on the basis of newspaper stories when the government, for reasons best known to it, elected to present no evidence suggesting the defendant's guilt. This argument of the prosecution I emphatically and unqualifiedly reject. Unsworn newspaper reports do not do away with the presumption of innocence applicable to all defendants. If I ever rule based on newspaper accounts, I hope it's my last day on the bench.⁵¹

In any case, a few of Martínez' family members and close friends posted their sixteen homes as bail for the \$400,000 bond, expressing their confidence that he would not flee the city after his release. The court accepted the properties as sufficient bail payment, and Martínez was released to the custody of his attorney Kenneth Padilla on October 24, 1980.

As various court rulings went on, it appeared more and more that local, state, and federal law enforcement and legal officials were conspiring to falsely imprison Martínez. During a preliminary hearing before Chief Denver County Court Judge George Manerbino, state prosecutors requested to submit as evidence fingerprint records of Martínez taken by local law enforcement officers who unlawfully arrested him in Scottsbluff, Nebraska in 1973. Kenneth Padilla argued that the court dismiss such evidence since Martínez' arrest in Nebraska was ruled unconstitutional, and told Manerbino to give "full faith and credit" to the findings of the Nebraska courts and discount the fingerprint record.⁵² However, Deputy Denver District Attorney and Prosecutor Cass García refuted Padilla's contention and maintained that Manerbino was not bound by the Nebraska rulings since only a district court judge has the authority to dismiss fingerprint evidence.⁵³ Thus, Manerbino allowed prosecutors to submit the fingerprint record as admissible evidence in the case against Martínez.

Additionally, law enforcement ineptitude reinforced conspiratorial notions concerning Martínez' trial. The Denver police reported in November of 1980 that they had lost the bomb that Martínez allegedly sent to local school board member Robert Crider in 1973.⁵⁴ Denver Bomb Squad Head Robert Shaughnessy, embarrassed and baffled about the missing bomb, testified that custodial personnel apparently discarded the evidence.⁵⁵ This misfortune impacted the federal cases against Martínez as federal prosecutors could not convince the court that there was a pattern of deviant, malicious behavior without the evidence.

MARTÍNEZ'S FIRST FEDERAL (MIS)TRIAL

U.S. District Judge Fred M. Winner scheduled Martínez' first federal trial for January 27, 1981 in Pueblo, Colorado. Unfortunately, Winner

ordered separate trials for each of Martínez' three bombing charges.⁵⁶ The January 27 trial was centered on the 1973 attempted mail bombing of Denver policewoman Carol Hogue. Before the trial began, Martínez' attempt to have the case dismissed due to local bias towards him and vindictive prosecution was denied by Judge Winner.⁵⁷ Also to no avail, Kenneth Padilla called for a mistrial since federal prosecutors dismissed all potential jurors of Hispanic descent.⁵⁸ Luckily, both plaintiffs and defendant's attorneys agreed to disallow any reference to the case involving Martínez' 1973 arrest in Nebraska.⁵⁹

During the trial's opening statement, Los Angeles defense attorney Leonard Weinglass, renowned for his work in various trials involving political activists, offered an explanation as to why police claimed to have found Martínez' fingerprints on the bomb package sent to policewoman Carol Hogue. He argued that the fingerprints actually came from a piece of poster board where he did legal work at the University of Colorado, Boulder.⁶⁰ However, federal prosecutors wanted to use the print evidence against Martínez and offered their interpretation concerning such evidence. One legal document filed by the prosecutors' states:

The Government intends to use evidence that the defendant's fingerprints were recovered from newspapers surrounding dynamite near Alamosa, Colorado, in 1972, and that the defendant was arrested in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, driving a car in which was recovered a Molotov cocktail to establish proof of a motive, opportunity, intent, preparation, plan, knowledge, identity, or absence of mistake or accident as to the crimes charged in the indictment.⁶¹

The use of the fingerprint evidence was an issue of contention for both sides throughout the trial.

CONTROVERSY LEADING TO MISTRIAL ENSUES

During another moment in the Hogue trial, jury members Jacquelyne Wolfe and Charles Kelly approached Judge Winner to complain to him about t-shirts worn by certain members of the audience in the courtroom

that stated on the front side, “Free Kiko.” Defense Attorney Weinglass requested a mistrial on the basis that the two jurors’ complaint reveals “the anger the jurors are feeling towards the defendant.”⁶² After hearing all arguments on the issue, Judge Winner informed the two jurors that he could not tell audience members how to dress in the courtroom, and cautioned them not to reach a verdict based on the type of clothing worn by spectators.⁶³ This would not be the case in subsequent trials as Judge Winner claimed he wanted to “prevent clothing which could be construed as intimidating to the jury” and the “wearing of clothing containing printing which may be interpreted as attempted communication with the jury.”⁶⁴

In a similar vein, however, the two jurors also complained to Judge Winner that one member of the defense team wore dark sunglasses during the court proceedings. They viewed this as suspicious and inappropriate. Kenneth Padilla believed the jurors’ comments were uncalled for and pointed at apparent “prejudice toward Mr. Martínez.”⁶⁵ The trial did come to a surprising end when Judge Winner granted a mistrial at the request of federal prosecutors and not by the defense as requested earlier.⁶⁶ Judge Winner did reveal that the mistrial motion would be granted only if the defense joined in on the motion. This gave prosecutors another opportunity to file the same type of charges against Martínez without constituting “double jeopardy.”⁶⁷

Defense attorneys offered their interpretations as to why the mistrial occurred. Kenneth Padilla stated, “Their (federal prosecutors’) case was going badly for them and they wanted to extricate themselves from a bad case.”⁶⁸ Padilla further believed that prosecutors called for the mistrial fearing that Martínez might win the case on appeal if found guilty because of the two jurors’ complaints against him.⁶⁹ Defense Attorney Leonard Weinglass alleged that the U.S. attorney’s office decided that the case was a “no-win” situation according to what they read in the newspapers.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the media offered an inaccurate interpretation of why Judge Winner reluctantly granted the mistrial. They reported that the mistrial motion was granted at the request of the defense rather than by the prosecution. Indeed, a Denver television news report announced that “U.S. District Judge Fred Winner granted the defense request for a

mistrial on the grounds that two jurors have shown ‘hostility’ toward Martínez.”⁷¹

Although a mistrial was not the same as an acquittal, it did boost the confidence and optimism of the defense team. The defense felt that the prosecutors’ request for a mistrial represented a moral victory in the government’s war of repression against Martínez. In expressing his sentiment about the mistrial, Wineglass summed up his assessment of the mistrial stating, “We didn’t have absolute confidence in this jury, but what ultimately happened was that the government had even less confidence in their case. This was the first time the government has been stopped (in the Martínez cases) since 1973. I think the tide (momentum in court) is reversed.”⁷² In expressing his sentiment about the mistrial, Martínez remarked, “This is just a partial victory—the final victory will be ours (Chicano people).”⁷³ Additional controversy and scrutiny continued to mar the court’s proceedings when a startling discovery was made about Judge Fred Winner.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST MARTÍNEZ IN THE COURTROOM REVEALED

Unbeknownst to most participants and the public during the Hogue mistrial was that Judge Winner had agreed to have a hidden camera installed in the courtroom at the behest of the FBI. Two days after the trial had started, Judge Winner secretly met in his hotel room with the FBI, three deputy U.S. Marshals, federal prosecutors, Denver police officials, the court clerk, and his personal secretary to arrange the method for installing the camera. Defense attorneys representing Martínez were not informed of the private meeting and according to a letter written by Winner: “The defendant and his attorneys couldn’t have been intimidated because they wouldn’t have known (about the secret camera). I thought I had a duty to do exactly this (place the hidden camera in the courtroom) if the federal courts are to survive.”⁷⁴ Winner later further revealed his negative bias towards Martínez by elaborating as to why he cooperated with FBI officials to place a camera in the courtroom, stating:

The aborted trial was a disaster. Attempted jury intimidation was apparent to everyone. A juror doesn't have to be very perceptive to understand having a group of spectators (court audience) glare at him and having one or more of them run a finger across his throat to threaten a slashed juror's throat. Yet, to prove that conduct in the future is less than easy. Persons of national notoriety attended the trial and it is evident that the defense is well financed. If there is acquittal, efforts to intimidate future juries throughout the United States will accelerate...I saw what was going on, and I talked to the marshals who saw and were worried. I notified the FBI and I authorized the FBI to install a concealed camera which would provide the evidence to convict in a future obstruction of justice case.⁷⁵

These dubious legal machinations indicate that an unraveling plot to thwart the defense attorneys' strategies in the case was the reason that a mistrial in the case occurred. Another document filed by defense attorneys further reveals that Judge Winner told U.S. Attorney Barksdale that he would grant a motion for a mistrial whenever Barksdale requested. Moreover, Judge Winner advised federal prosecutor Barksdale to wait to motion for a mistrial until defense attorneys had presented their case strategy.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Judge Winner reportedly told another federal attorney that he wanted to prolong the mistrial ruling in order to have an opportunity to obtain obstruction of justice evidence for the prosecution.⁷⁷ Upon becoming aware of the hidden camera and secret meeting first reported in the *Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News*, defense attorneys argued that Judge Winner's actions negated any possibility that Martinez could receive a fair trial.⁷⁸ They contended that key trial witnesses who attended the secret meeting on January 29 had their "sense of right and justice" significantly influenced by Judge Winner.⁷⁹

The court record also reveals another bizarre occurrence regarding Winner's behavior in a Pueblo, Colorado bar. Shortly after Winner declared the Hogue attempted bombing proceedings a mistrial, he reportedly was seen wearing a "Free Kiko" t-shirt under his sport coat while meeting socially with various court personnel and U.S. Marshals.⁸⁰ The controversial and turbulent events associated with Martinez's mistrial

both in and out of the courtroom portrays the type of overzealous and vindictive prosecution he endured from federal government prosecutors and law enforcement agencies during the eight other court trials he later faced throughout the 1980s to prove his innocence.

CONCLUSION: FRANCISCO “KIKO” MARTÍNEZ’S HISTORICAL LEGACY

Shortly after the 1980 mistrial, Judge Winner removed himself from future court proceedings involving Kiko Martínez. U.S. District Judge Luther Eubanks from Oklahoma was appointed to hear motions to dismiss the three attempted bombing charges filed against Martínez. During 1981, the United States of America v. Franke Eugenio Martinez federal case pertaining to Carol Hogue was dismissed because of Judge Winner’s secret dealings to gain a tactical advantage in future court proceedings. “Winnergate,” as the legal scandal committed by the government against Martínez came to be known, led to all state charges in Colorado being dismissed in September 1981. In December of the same year, a special federal appeals court panel ruled that Judge Winner acted improperly during the Hogue attempted bombing case.⁸¹ Later court cases involving Martínez took place outside of Colorado since many of the U.S. district court and appellate judges in Colorado admitted that they had a close association with Judge Winner.⁸²

The dismissal of the Colorado state charges left only two federal cases against Martínez dealing with the attempted bombings of Denver school board member Robert Crider and the Two Wheeler Motorcycle Shop.⁸³ In March 1982, the government appealed a second time for permission to use evidence from the 1981 mistrial and call for an investigation to ascertain what happened to Martínez during his exile in Mexico (1973-1980). He subsequently won this appeal. Martínez achieved an important legal victory in federal court in November 1982 when the jury found him “not guilty” of the government’s charges that he mailed a bomb to the Two Wheeler Motorcycle Shop. On August 15, 1983, the rest of the federal case against Martínez was dismissed and the government appealed for a third time. The government eventually dismissed the case due to inconclusive evidence against him.

Only six weeks after federal prosecutors failed to convict Martínez on any of the 1973 charges, federal persecution against him began anew. FBI agents armed with machine guns arrested him outside his home in Alamosa without warning and accused him of giving false information to officials at the Arizona-Mexico border when using the alias “Jose Reynoso Diaz” while attempting to cross the border in 1980.⁸⁴ In 1986, U.S. District Judge William Browning ordered Martínez to serve ninety days of a five-year prison sentence for concealing his true identity when crossing the border.⁸⁵ Martínez successfully appealed the conviction regarding his use of an alias when the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Arizona ruled by a vote of 2-1 that the use of an assumed name did not constitute perjury.⁸⁶ With this victory, the government’s political repression against him ended. In assessing what he had endured in the courtroom against federal and state prosecution, Martínez commented, “It’s been a heck of a good education about the legal process and about political repression in America.”⁸⁷

In sum, Francisco “Kiko” Martínez’ plight in proving his innocence in court reveals the type of the tactics orchestrated by local, state, and federal officials against social movement activists of the modern Civil Rights era (1960s – 1970s). Martínez became a government political target due to his Chicano Movement ties and leftist political views that were often expressed through his community and legal work. The evidence suggests the manner in which government authorities prosecuted Martínez, which fits the pattern of political persecution experienced by other more well-known movement activists of the 1960s and 1970s. What’s more, it appears that legal authorities likely went as far as to falsify evidence against Martínez to imprison him indefinitely. One major actor instigating such political repression possibly includes the FBI counter-intelligence program known as COINTELPRO, which had been widely active and in full operation from the mid-1950s until 1971. Examining Martínez as a target of governmental persecution highlights the importance of his social justice and political activism since the early 1970s. His work in advocating the political, civil and human rights of the ethnic Mexican and Latino communities that began at that time continues today.

Endnotes

1 The author served as a graduate fellow in the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, where he completed archival processing of the Francisco E. "Kiko" Martínez Papers during the 2002-2003 school year. He also rewrote parts of the Martínez Papers manuscript collection inventory or finding aid. Please be aware that the archivists at the Center for Southwest Research may have rearranged and/or renamed a few parts of the Martínez Papers since 2003. The author is a current full-time history instructor at South Texas College in McAllen, Texas, and will be receiving a doctorate in history from the University of New Mexico (Albuquerque) in May 2007.

2 Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1988), 9.

3 Ibid.

4 "Political Counterintelligence" by Athan Theoharris (date created unknown) <<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/theoharris.htm>> [date accessed: 16 June 2005]; David Cunningham *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan and FBI Counterintelligence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 8.

5 Hoover, statement, July 26, 1950 (Harry S. Truman Library, Bontecore Papers), from *Ideological Warfare: The FBI's Path Toward Power*, Frank M. Sorrentino, Associated Faculty Press, Inc. 1985. Cited from "COINTELPRO: The Untold American Story" (date created unknown) <<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/coinwcar3.htm>> [date accessed: 10 June 2005].

6 FBI letter, 25 August 1967. Cited from Brian Glick *War at Home: Covert Action against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988), 9. Phrase also cited from "COINTELPRO: The Untold American Story" (date created unknown) <<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/coinwcar3.htm>> [date accessed: 10 June 2005].

7 "How COINTELPRO Helped Destroy the Movements of the 1960s" (date created unknown) <<http://www.aztlan.net/covert.html>> [dated accessed: 11 November 2002].

8 Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1988), 10. Glick contends that FBI officials used the legal system to intentionally harass or intimidate various movement activists.

9 The author has been unable to locate FBI or COINTELPRO documentation to verify that the federal government intended to silence and imprison Francisco "Kiko" Martínez for participation in Chicano civil rights movement activities. However, the author reveals information from legal records of Martínez's court cases to underscore the federal government's intention to bring forth criminal charges against him based on circumstantial evidence, which fits the method or pattern of how the government prosecuted other movement activists.

10 “COINTELPRO: The Untold American Story” (date created unknown) <<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/coinwcar3.htm>> [date accessed: 10 July 2005].

11 Series III, Boxes 23-25; and Series IX, Box 1 (oversize material) of the FEM Papers contain archival material on the activities of the Crusade for Justice and the Chicano Movement in Colorado. During an interview with the author via telephone, Martínez indicated that he did not hold a leadership position nor played a very active role in the Crusade for Justice. In addition, he was not endorsed nor funded by this group.

12 Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006.

13 *The Case of Francisco “Kiko” Martínez: A Profile of Racist Political Repression*, booklet published by the Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee, Alamosa, Colorado, 1981; *El Caso de Kiko Martínez*, information sheet published by Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee, Alamosa, Colorado, date unknown. Francisco E. “Kiko” Martínez Papers, Box 19, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico. Henceforth, I will refer to the archival documents contained in the Martínez Papers as “FEM” in the rest of the footnotes.

14 Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006.

15 Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006; and Francisco E. “Kiko” Martínez Papers, Manuscript Collection Inventory, Biography section, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1.

16 Ibid.

17 *At the Hands of Anglo-America*, Richard Falcón murder investigation document written by Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund attorneys Kenneth Padilla and Francisco Martínez, and investigator Julius Martínez, date unknown, Folder 25, Box 21 of FEM.

18 McGovern Comments on Falcon Killing, telegram, La Raza Unida National Convention Headquarters, El Paso, Texas, 1 September 1972, Folder 35, Box 21 of FEM.

19 Ibid.

20 *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 September 1970, Folder 27 “Brunson Criminal Trial: newspaper stories,” Box 21 of FEM.

21 *Albuquerque Journal*, 1 September 1970, Folder 27, Box 21 of FEM.

22 “Killer of Ricardo Falcón is Freed But,” *El Grito Del Norte* (Las Vegas, NM), Vol. 2, No. 10 (December 1972), 1, Folder 33, Box 21 of FEM.

23 “Killer of Ricardo Falcón is Freed But,” *El Grito Del Norte* (Las Vegas, NM), Vol. 2, No. 10 (December 1972), 1, Folder 33, Box 21 of FEM; and Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006.

24 *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 January 1974, Folder 27, Box 21 of FEM.

25 Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006 and 20 April 2007.

26 See Folder 5, Box 2 of FEM Papers containing more detailed information on Martinez's arrest and case trial in Scottsbluff, Nebraska; and Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006 and 20 April 2007.

27 Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1988), 10. Glick suggests that law enforcement officials presented fabricated evidence as a pretext for the unjust arrests of various movement activists.

28 Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006 and 20 April 2007. During my interview, Martinez revealed that he borrowed the vehicle that he and Luevano were driving, but could not recall the name of the person who owned it.

29 For a detailed analysis of the FBI's covert action against Corky González and members of the Crusade for Justice in the 1970s, read Ernesto B. Vigil's *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

30 During the 1970s, federal authorities, and state and local police alleged that numerous movement activists in Colorado purposely built and planted bombs throughout Denver, claiming that activists' political activity entailed violence. For further information please read Ernesto B. Vigil's *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), and "Educating Rita: School Board Member Rita Montero Found Herself in Explosive Times in the Seventies" (7 June 1995) <<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/ww1.htm>> [date accessed: 7 May 2003].

31 "Educating Rita: School Board Member Rita Montero Found Herself in Explosive Times in the Seventies" (7 June 1995) <<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/ww1.htm>> [date accessed: 7 May 2003].

32 Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006 and 20 April 2007. During my two phone interviews, Martinez indicated that this motorcycle shop operated across the street from an Italian American community that opposed Chicanos and Mexican immigrants moving into the local neighborhood. Martinez further explained that ethnic Mexican residents in this neighborhood sought to change the name of Columbus Park located close to the motorcycle shop. Ethnic tensions became evident in this part of Denver when Chicanos wanted the city to rename the park "La Raza Park" and to abolish Columbus Day as a statewide holiday, which infuriated the Italian American community. According to Martinez, north Denver was also a center of police brutality against Chicano youth under 18 who violated the 10 p.m. city-wide curfew, and against various Chicano adults in the neighborhood. Police claimed that this report(s) of mistreatment was supposedly Martinez's "motive" for sending the bomb to the motorcycle shop.

33 *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colorado), 19 September 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

34 Ibid., 298-299.

- 35 "Educating Rita: School Board Member Rita Montero Found Herself in Explosive Times in the Seventies" (7 June 1995)
<<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/ww1.htm>> [date accessed: 7 May 2003].
- 36 Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 307. Also, Boxes 24-25 of the FEM Papers contain archival documents on "Los Seis de Boulder, CO."
- 37 U.S. Federal District Court for the District of Colorado, photocopy of *Reporter's Transcript of Jury Trial Opening Statement* from criminal case *United States of America v. Franke Eugenio Martinez*, Civil Action No. 73-CR-414, p. 19, Box 1 of FEM. Author is not sure which folder in Box 1 contains the document.
- 38 Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006.
- 39 Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1988), 10.
- 40 Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006. During my first phone interview, Martinez explained that he believed the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan represented a better opportunity for him to have a fair trial in the U.S. after ending his exile.
- 41 *Pueblo Star-Journal and Sunday Chieftain*, 19 September 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 TV news transcript, Denver TV coverage of Martinez, 26 December 1980, Folder 4, Box 3 of FEM.
- 45 TV news transcript, Denver TV coverage of Martinez, 18 September 1980, Folder 4 "Television news transcripts, Denver TV coverage (Feb. 1981)," Box 3 of FEM.
- 46 *Pueblo Star-Journal and Sunday Chieftain* (Pueblo, Colorado), 17 November 1974, Folder 27 "Newscippings: 'The Kiko Martinez Case: A Collection of Newspaper Clippings,' 1974-1985," Box 20 of FEM.
- 47 Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1988), 10. Glick identifies and characterizes this method as "Psychological Warfare from the Outside."
- 48 *The Valley Courier* (Alamosa, Colorado), October 1980 (clipping does not mention the exact date of article), Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.
- 49 Ibid., 17 October 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 *The Denver Post*, 21 November 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.
- 53 Ibid.

54 *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 November 1980; *The Valley Courier*, 21 November 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

55 Ibid.

56 *The Valley Courier*, 5 December 1980, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

57 Ibid., 27 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

58 *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 January 1981; *The Valley Courier*, 28 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

59 *The Valley Courier*, 30 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

60 Ibid.

61 U.S. Federal District Court for the District of Colorado, photocopy of *Notice of Intent to Use Prior Similar Acts* from criminal case *United States of America v. Franke Eugenio Martinez*, Civil Action No. 73-CR-414, p. 1, Box 1 of FEM. Author is not sure which folder in Box 1 contains the document.

62 *The Valley Courier*, 30 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

63 *Pueblo Chieftain & Star Journal*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

64 *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 February 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

65 *Pueblo Chieftain & Star Journal*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

66 *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

67 Ibid.

68 *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

69 *The Denver Post*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

70 Ibid.

71 TV news transcript, Denver TV coverage, 30 January 1981, Folder 4, Box 3 of FEM.

72 Ibid.

73 *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 January 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

74 *The Valley Courier*, date not indicated on newspaper clipping, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

75 Ibid.

76 U.S. Federal District Court for the District of Colorado, photocopy of *Motion to Dismiss Remaining Counts for Judicial, Prosecutorial and General Governmental Misconduct and Prejudice from criminal case United States of America v. Franke Eugenio Martinez*, Civil Action No. 73-CR-414, p. 2, Box 1 of FEM. Author is not sure which folder in Box 1 contains the document.

77 Ibid.

78 Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, telephone interview with author, 25 August 2006 and 20 April 2007. Martinez indicated that the affidavit of U.S. Attorney of Colorado Joseph P. Dolan from the 1981 Carol Hogue case also revealed that Judge Winner allegedly placed a secret camera in the courtroom. During a follow-up interview on April 20, 2007, Martinez expressed frustration with his inability to

receive a fair trial due to Judge Winner's reputation as one who purposely obstructed justice by allowing vindictive prosecution against him in the courtroom.

79 U.S. Federal District Court for the District of Colorado, photocopy of *Motion to Dismiss Remaining Counts for Judicial, Prosecutorial and General Governmental Misconduct and Prejudice* from criminal case *United States of America v. Franke Eugenio Martinez*, Civil Action No. 73-CR-414, p. 2, Box 1 of FEM. Author is not sure which folder in Box 1 contains the document.

80 Ibid.

81 *The Denver Post*, 1 December 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

82 *Kansas City Star*, 9 November 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

83 Ibid., 28 September 1981, Folder 27, Box 20 of FEM.

84 *Pueblo Chieftain & Star Journal*, 26 January 1985, Folder 26 "Newsclippings: Nov. 21, 1982-Jan. 29, 1988," Box 20 of FEM.

85 *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 December 1986, Folder 26, Box 20 of FEM.

86 Ibid., 29 January 1988, Folder 26, Box 20 of FEM.

87 Ibid.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Wars in the Schools: Mexicana Mothers Collective Cultural Capital

Rosa Furumoto, California State University Northridge

ABSTRACT

This research is a qualitative case study that examined a form of collective cultural capital activated by nine Mexican-American women who served as parent leaders in two elementary schools in Southern California. Critical theory and ethnographic methods were used to examine the nature of their collective cultural capital consisting of community leadership, compassion, and resistance; and its activation through formal classes and social networks. Findings demonstrate that class and gender oppression in the women's lives contributed to their socialization as resisters to oppression. Their collective cultural capital was developed and activated to improve the education of their children and to educate and involve other parents in supporting their children's education. Implications include a paradigm shift in research dealing with Latino parents' educational participation from a deficit mode towards an understanding and appreciation of Latina/o parents' collective cultural capital.

Here in the center we have the sun. In one way or another we are all connected to the sun because without the sun we couldn't have life. Each of the circles is representing something; earth, water, air and fire. Here in the center is a mystery, but we think it could be filled with a lot of love (Petra).

The hearts are the love that moves us to create a better world. The energy of the universe gives us the energy to keep moving (Raquel).

We come out to fight for our children. Our goal is to have our children go to the university (Esperanza).

We are leaders at home and at school. All of our commonalities give us the strength to continue ahead (Genevieve).

In a small group activity designed to explore their similarities and differences as women and school leaders, Petra, Raquel, Esperanza and Genevieve (pseudonyms) represented themselves as elements of nature, fighters for their children, dreamers, and loving human beings. They captured in poetic terms the complex and fascinating world of a group of Mexicana/Chicana mothers engaged in a collective struggle to better the education of their children and to negotiate their own struggle for humanity and freedom from oppression. This article theorizes about and discusses a form of collective cultural capital activated by a group of working class Mexicana/Chicana¹ immigrant parent leaders via social networks and formal classes on school campuses. The title of this article, "Wars in the Schools," suggests that schools are sites of social struggle over issues such as academic tracking, language, racism, curriculum, pedagogy, and the marginalization of low-income parents and students. These struggles are connected to the historical, social and political fabric of dominant society. For example, Latina/os, immigrants, and other concerned people across the United States have risen up in a national social movement to demand fair treatment and just policies for immigrants. The local and national struggles around immigration echo the linguistic,

racial, and social oppression in schools. In California, the site of the study, voters passed Proposition 227, English for the Children, in 1998, which had the effect of dismantling bilingual education across the state (Mora, 2002). The state of Arizona passed a similar amendment in November of 2000. Historically, in response to school oppression, Latina/o parents and communities have struggled to counter oppression and to win equal access to quality education for their children (Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valencia & Black, 2002). Recent research addressing Latina/o parent involvement in their children's education has pointed to the cultural strengths and capacities which Latina/o families employ to support and encourage their children's education (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 2001; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Moll, González, & Amanti, 2005).

Unfortunately, schools serving predominantly Latina/o and African American students have tended to marginalize and alienate Latina/o and African American parents (Calabrese, 1990; Fine, 1993; Furumoto, 2003). School administrators, teachers, and teacher educators often point to the Latina/o parents' lack of ability to speak English, low level of formal education, and lack of understanding about the school system as reasons for excluding them from authentic participation in their children's schools. Perhaps most pernicious is the claim that Latino parents do not value education. These views about Latino parents are most commonly referred to as the deficit model (Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997).

In contrast to this perspective, this article proposes that we re-conceptualize Latina/o parents as the holders of highly valuable collective cultural capital that can serve as a powerful force for positive change in schools and communities. This article 1) provides a theoretical framework for problematizing the parent leaders' social and cultural capital and critical consciousness; 2) presents and discusses the study's data; and 3) provides conclusions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As used here, the term "collective cultural capital" refers to the values, knowledge, attitudes, and critical consciousness employed collectively by

a group of people in order to carry out socially just actions. Some key theoretical constructs can serve as a beginning point for problematizing and contextualizing collective cultural capital and critical consciousness. One area that was particularly problematic in the present study was to conceptualize the collective nature of social and cultural capital and integrate this with notions of critical consciousness. In this paper, I introduce some of my previous findings exploring critical consciousness with the parent leaders in this study, and explore some relevant ideas from socio-cultural theory, critical consciousness, and social and cultural capital.

Previous research with the parent leaders featured in this study examined processes of critical analysis and collective social action and reflection that supported the parents' deepening critical consciousness and commitment to struggle against school-based oppression (Furumoto, 2003, pp. 121-122). One of the most important findings in the previous study was that the parent leaders' critical consciousness was "the result of complex social, cultural, and historical processes and experiences that shaped the women's outlooks on the world" (p. 128). Trueba (2002, p. 21), addressing the identity formation of contemporary immigrants, argued that academicians needed to employ a multi-disciplinary approach to better understand "complex human phenomena." In particular, he argued for a deeper investigation into the "social activities of humans (not inside their minds) and their culture, values, practices, and actions." This emphasis on human social activities is termed a sociocultural perspective, which was pioneered by Lev Vygotsky (1997) and represents a significant body of applied and theoretical research (Daniels, 1996; Engestrom, Miettinen, & Punamaki, 1999; Kozulin, 1997; Moll, 1990; Newman & Holzman, 1993; Wertsch, 1985, 1998).

Culture and consciousness were seen by Vygotsky (1997) as the subject of inquiry. He suggested that socially meaningful activity might play this role and serve as a consciousness generator. Vygotsky suggested that individual consciousness was built through social interaction with others. His key contribution was to assert that higher human mental functions such as consciousness must be seen as products of mediated activity. Vygotsky's idea of mediated action involved the use of signs and other cultural artifacts and focused on "the individual performing actions in a sociocultural

setting” (Engestrom & Miettinen, 1999, p. 11). However, Engestrom and Miettinen (1999) noted how mediated action as conceptualized by some social cultural theorists such as Wertsch, del Rio & Alvarez (1995, p.11), have moved away from ideas of “historicity, object orientedness, and the collective nature of human activity” and towards “emphasizing the sign-mediated and interactional aspects of action instead.”

In contrast, critical consciousness, according to Paulo Freire, is part of a process of critically analyzing the cause of problems within a system and transforming the self to challenge the system (Freire, 1981, 2005). In the following narrative Freire (2005) captures the reflective nature of critical consciousness:

In problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (p. 83).

People engaging in dialogue and critical examination of their world are simultaneously developing a sense of themselves as historical beings with the capacity to create a new world and a new history (Freire, 2005). These ideas provide somewhat more of a conceptual footing for understanding the critical consciousness and agency that characterized the collective cultural capital of the parent leaders.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The notion of cultural capital was developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron to explain how children from upper social classes tended to attain high levels of educational achievement in contrast to lower levels of achievement attained by poor and working class children (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Bourdieu (1986, p.243), the major theoretician of cultural and social capital, proposed a unitary capital which can present itself in three distinctive forms; economic, cultural, and social, and which, depending on conditions, can be transformed into something of potential economic value, such as an educational degree or material wealth. Economic capital can be converted immediately to money or

“institutionalized in the form of property rights.” Cultural capital is also, under certain conditions, convertible into economic capital and “may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications.”

Parents’ cultural capital can exist in several forms that are relevant to schooling; *embodied* as “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243) such as knowledge about schooling gained from experience; *objectified* in “the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc....);” and *institutionalized* such as “connections to education–related institutions (e.g., schools, universities, libraries)” (Grenfell & James, 1998; Robbins, 2000; as cited in Lee & Bowen, 2006, p. 197).

Social capital refers to the “actual or potential resources” connected to participation in social networks or membership in a group (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248-249). Social capital may also be transformed into economic capital. Coleman (1988, p.6; as cited in Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000) offered the following definition of social capital within an educational setting: “Social capital is the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organization and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person.” Coleman (1988, pp. S106-S107) argued that social networks featuring “intergenerational closure” (meaning “links among the parents of children in the school”) provided social capital to parents that could help them in the schooling of their children as well as in other areas. Following are some examples of how social capital may be activated for schooling purposes: 1) The parents of a child unable to do their mathematics homework could assist their child, or, if unable, could turn to their friends for help; and 2) a school could establish “after-school clubs” for helping with homework (Munn, 2000, p. 173).

Recent discourse has examined how the social and cultural capital of marginalized social class and racial groups may subvert social reproduction and address educational inequities (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Monkman, Ronald, & Thérémène, 2005; Olneck, 2000). For example, Lareau & Horvat (1999, p. 50) noted that an individual’s race and class affect social reproduction, but do not necessarily determine it. They argued that the skill with which a person, such as a parent, for example,

“activates capital or plays his or her hand,” influences the degree to which race and class would matter in “interactions with social institutions.” The data in the present study presents examples of Latina/o parents activating capital in order to benefit their children’s education.

DATA AND METHODS

The data for this article were collected using a qualitative case study design over a nine-month period in 2000. Qualitative design refers to the use of relativistic approaches that are appropriate when trying to answer “how” or “why” questions, and can be used to explain the underlying conditions or forces causing the phenomenon under study. The objective of the study was to explore the phenomena of the women’s leadership, organization, and working styles as parent leaders in two urban elementary schools. The study was guided by two central questions:

1) What is the meaning that working class Mexicanas make of their lives and work as parent leaders at Lomita Elementary and Helena Street Schools; and 2) What implications do their leadership stories have for what schools can do to promote more of this type of parent leadership in schools?

Qualitative case study methods provided the best way to gain insight into the women leaders’ constructions of reality – how they understood and reacted to the world around them (Merriam, 1998). Delgado-Gaitan (1993) discussed how she as a researcher, and the families she studied, perceived the same reality differently due to deep and fundamental values that extend beyond political knowledge. Thus, a case study approach combining ethnographic field observations, in-depth interviews, and focus group interviews was employed to better understand the women as they worked and interacted with each other, families, and students.

Uniform data collection and analysis methods and the use of a second data coder added to the trustworthiness of the data analysis. The nine-month data collection period increased the credibility of the study. Multiple sources of data came through the use of two sites with three women from Lomita Elementary and six women from Helena Street School. Two of the six women from Helena Street School were chosen as study participants to provide a check on the emerging data. One of them

was a school volunteer with over twenty years of experience in the schools while the other was the youngest study participant with only one year of volunteer experience in the schools.

I assumed the role of a participant observer to record and collect the data for the case study. The study sites and people were familiar to me in that I had worked as a bilingual classroom teacher in the local schools prior to the study and served as a project director shortly before and during the period of the data collection. As a project director, teacher, and community activist who had lived and worked in the local Latina/o community my entire life, I had come to know parent leaders from several local elementary schools. This familiarity with the parents, school sites and community contributed to my insider status as a researcher and facilitated the naturalistic field observations and other data collection.

Ethnographic field observations consisted of visits to the formal classes conducted by the parent leaders. These field observations provided information on the manner in which the parent leaders interacted with parents and children and the type of information presented. As a participant observer, I attended virtually their entire formal and informal daily and weekly planning and debriefing meetings. I was also present at training sessions where they were the participants. These field observations provided information on the manner in which the parent leaders interacted with each other, their leadership ethic, and the types of information exchanged. In-depth interviews provided insight into the women leaders' views about political and social issues, their ethic of resistance and justice, their morality about leadership, and the interplay of their religious and cultural traditions, rituals, and beliefs. Focus group interviews served as a way to bring more validity to the study by engaging the study participants in analyzing and reflecting on their lives and the data generated about them. This is an established method and strategy in Chicana/Latina studies (Bernal, 1998; Pardo, 1998).

STUDY SAMPLE

The criteria for selecting the sites were schools in which working class Latina/o parent leaders were collectively developing and implementing

parent empowerment programs. Parent empowerment was defined as approaches and processes that led to parents' active involvement in developing the consciousness, skills and knowledge to proactively confront the educational inequities faced by their children. The parent leaders from the two study sites worked collectively on a number of parent empowerment projects—Family Math, Family Literacy, multicultural institute and parent leadership—that will be described in greater detail later in this study. The study sites were located in a large urban district in southern California. Both schools were racially segregated with at least 97% Latino students. The two sites were overcrowded, multi-track, year-round schools. In the year 2000 Lomita Elementary had 900 students of whom 68% were Spanish-speaking English Language Learners (ELL), while Helena Street School had 1,200 students of which 78% were Spanish-speaking ELL. In both schools, at least 93% of the children qualified for free or reduced price meals, indicating a high level of poverty in the community.

The women leaders Genevieve, Raquel, and Citlaly from Lomita Elementary; and Esperanza, Sra. Garcia, Isabel, Ana, Gloria and Petra from Helena Street School, were selected for the study because of their many years of leadership and involvement in developing and implementing parent involvement programs in the local area schools. Genevieve was included in the study because she was a nine-year veteran parent center director and leader from Lomita Elementary prior to the study. The exception to these criteria was Ana, who had only one year of experience in the schools, and was chosen for the study to provide a counterpoint and check on the data and its analysis. The other eight study participants had started as volunteers in the schools when their children were in elementary school. During the period of the study six of the women held part-time paid parent representative positions that were funded by a federal grant addressing whole school reform. Another two of the study participants, one from each school site, were employed by the schools as part-time parent center coordinators. One of the study participants was a volunteer.

Study participants' ranged in age from 37-43 years of age with one of the women aged 66 years. All of the women were working class naturalized

citizens originally from Mexico with the exception of one woman born in the U.S. Five of the women had completed 6th grade level of education or less while the other four had completed high school and some training beyond high school. Of this group of high school graduates, one had completed her AA degree and was continuing work on her BA, while another was attending community college. Eight of the nine women were home owners and all were married to men who held stable jobs, except for one woman whose husband was retired. All of the women had children or grandchildren attending the public schools.

DATA ANALYSIS

All field observation notes and interviews were transcribed to create a case study database. Each of the main categories were subdivided into subcategories and coded. A second coder helped to formulate the coding categories and coded the interviews of three of the parent leaders. An examination of my coding with the second coder revealed a fairly consistent match, approximately 95%. Analysis of interview and observation data began during data collection. Constant comparative analysis (Merriam, 1998) was used to determine similarities and differences among the women leaders. Segments of the data addressing similar topics were analyzed for themes, patterns, and contrasts. The emergent themes included: 1) historical, social, economic and cultural conditions of the women leaders; 2) female oppression; 3) perceptions and practices of leadership and work; 4) self empowerment and personal growth; 5) nature of the women leaders' social and cultural capital; 6) perceptions about the school and parents; 7) outlooks on life and the world; 8) and perceptions about how their spouse and other family members viewed their involvement in schools.

Thus, the women leaders' life stories and experiences, told in their words, can provide insight into developing a critical consciousness and acquiring collective cultural capital. In addition, parent leaders in this study described how they activated their collective cultural capital, or knowledge about teachers and the school system to benefit children in the school community.

COMPASSION, RESISTANCE, AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

The women's values and ethics as compassionate community leaders and resisters to oppression comprised the core of their collective cultural capital. All of the women in the study demonstrated *corazon* or compassion that translated into actions that helped others. Genevieve said, "Since I was a child I always liked to help and do." Citlaly described her compassionate disposition as a gift, "Yes, before I entered the school I have always had a, I don't know, a don (gift) or a defect. If it is in my hands to help whomever; I do it, without expecting anything in return." Sra. García shared, "I think that more than anything I have a lot of willingness to help. If I can do something for my community, as long as I can move, I will do it, since I didn't have opportunity before." Raquel related a similar idea, "That is something that makes me feel good to know that I can help in some way when people have a problem with their children, or with certain subjects...It gives me much satisfaction to help them."

The outlook of helpfulness towards others was a key to the women's ethics and value system. The women leaders reported being influenced in their childhood or youth by the kind and compassionate actions of family members, teachers or fellow workers. Raquel reported, "My grandfather was always trying to help others and get along and share. He was generous. I think maybe one carries that in the blood." Genevieve told how her fellow farm workers taught her a powerful lesson about people helping each other:

When we worked in the lettuce fields we used a short handled hoe to thin the lettuce. This is very hard work. The rows are very long and you are bent over the whole time. One of the things I remember was how the guys would ask us if we wanted a "rite" [a ride]. I would say-"Yes." The guys were stronger than we were and they were usually way ahead of us in their rows. They would let us rest while they worked our rows until we were caught up to them. They didn't benefit at all from this. This is how I learned about people helping each other.

The family and community served as sources of strength and endurance for the women leaders. The socialization of the women into an ethic of caring (Gilligan, 1982) is also a reflection of the women's oppressed condition. Women around the world are generally socialized to care for weaker, dependent others to the exclusion of their own needs. For example, women usually care for children and the elderly or sick. This socialization of caring creates cultural capital that has the potential to be useful and empowering, as well as disabling and dysfunctional. In any case, the following examples demonstrate how the women resisted oppression in various ways during their childhood and youth.

Several of them actively resisted female subjugation and their actions often exhibited perseverance as well. Learning was a form of resistance to ignorance and the proscribed view of women as not requiring an education to assume the roles of mother and wife. Esperanza relates an experience growing up in Mexico about how she secretly traveled to a neighboring town in order to get an education.

We fought, hidden from my father and under the watchful eyes of our neighbors because they would watch us leave the house. Maybe they didn't approve that we were getting an education and we were women... I was 11 years old when I finished elementary school and it took me about a year-and-a-half before I entered secretary school... I was going for about eight months before my father figured out what I was doing.

In Esperanza's *vivencia* (lived experience) we note a very young woman of 12-13 years of age finding a way to challenge her father's belief that, as a woman, she didn't need an education. Her courage and persistence were remarkable, especially noting her young age.

Genevieve worked as a farmworker in the United States as a young person and was the only woman in the study born in the United States. She relates how the callous treatment of the workers by the growers/owners influenced her development:

I remember that we would work all week and then on Friday we would be all excited about getting paid. The owners would call in the

“migra” and they would surround the fields to catch those of us that were here illegally. I remember that everyone that was illegal would scatter and try to run away. In this way the owners didn’t have to pay for all that work. I would just stand there and get very angry at the injustice. I decided that I wanted to be an immigration officer so that I could let all my family and friends into this country. That is why I support the farmworkers’ union. This is why I always try to help others... I supported the cause and I got involved with the farmworkers’ union. I would help in the pickets and demonstrations.

Genevieve’s early politicization was unique among the women leaders. She became involved in a political and social movement in response to the injustices she witnessed in the field. Her moral outrage spurred her to fight and to engage in social activism.

An important aspect of the women’s collective cultural capital was their strong orientation towards community based leadership. Although it is impossible to tease apart all the social, cultural, and political influences that forged the women’s value system and beliefs, it is significant to note how Mexican Indian and peasant communities still practice a traditional system of public posts (*cargo*). In this system, “authority in Indian villages accompanies social prestige, which is acquired throughout life by demonstrating the capacity for community service” (Batalla, 1996, p. 35). Hirabayashi (1993, p. 127) noted how mountain Zapotec migrant associations operating in Mexico City created social networks and deployed a form of “cultural capital,” *paisanazgo* to survive and move ahead in Mexico City and in their home towns.

Several of the women leaders were raised in Mexican rural farming communities and this may have influenced some of their values regarding community-based leadership. This notion of interdependence between a leader and a community of others was voiced by several of the women leaders. Petra defined a leader in the following way, “Besides that, that the person wants what is good for everyone. I think for me that would be a good leader.” Genevieve also mentioned this idea, “A good leader does not do what is best for her but does what is best for whom she leads.” Raquel expressed the idea that a leader’s concerns must extend beyond home and family:

A good leader is someone who isn't just concerned about their own children but shows concern for the children in general, not just for your own nieces or nephews or the neighbor's children. In general we think and believe that we want a better future, that the children will be interested in studying and preparing themselves for a good future for the community and for the whole world. If we make a better community we make a better world. It is not just personal; it is community oriented, more open to all people.

Raquel's comments suggest that she saw the community as a unit of the world and that by extension one community's transformation can impact the rest of the world. Her statements imply that there is a communal or group agenda that a leader must address.

Ruiz (1998, p. 145) also noted this connection between the community and individual in her study of Mexican-American women in the twentieth century:

I am struck by the threads of continuity, the intertwining of community, family, and self. For some women, their involvement remains couched in familial ideology while others articulate feelings of personal empowerment or contextualize their actions within a framework of community-based feminism.

Pardo (2002, p. 221) made a similar claim that "women speak of their communities and activism as extensions of their family and household responsibility." Feminist scholars have developed alternative paradigms that are focused on a cooperative form of leadership that considers gender in the analysis of leadership. Sacks (1988) notes that within the traditional paradigm, leaders, usually men, are cast as spokespersons and negotiators in the public realm. However, this perspective obscures the crucial role of women because organizing was not seen as leadership.

Other studies on Chicana leadership practices have also called for reconceptualizing leadership by placing women at the center of analysis and defining organizing as an aspect of leading (Bernal, 1998).

ACQUIRING COLLECTIVE CULTURAL CAPITAL

The women leaders tended to work in collectivist ways through school and community based social networks that served to amplify their knowledge about the school system. The parent centers at both locations served as sites for socializing and exchanging information. In addition, I observed that parent leaders attended parties and other social functions of other parents in the community. These social spaces and interactions helped to cement their connections to each other. These connections resulted in many students benefiting from knowledge (cultural capital) held by even one member of the social network. The women's social networks had similarities to Mexican women's immigrant kin networks described by Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994). Indeed, eight of the women in the present study indicated how family and friendship-based social networks facilitated their permanent settlement in the United States. Latino households are often connected to other households and institutions through diverse social networks (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll, González, & Amanti, 2005).

From my field observations, interviews, and familiarity with the school sites over several years it was clear that the women in this study were among the most active parent leaders in their respective schools. Over the years they had attended numerous district sponsored workshops, sessions, and institutes that addressed issues related to parent involvement and supporting students' education. They were part of a pilot program for a parent trainer's project in the year 2000 sponsored by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), and to address issues related to parent leadership, rights, and responsibilities. The MALDEF content consisted of 36 hours of training, addressing issues such as how to handle a parent-teacher conference, understanding your child's progress reports, accessing and reviewing your child's cumulative record, college preparatory courses, college financial aid, and building familiarity with college life through visits to college campuses.

One of my concerns as a project director was to transform the school culture to be more cooperative and accepting of the racial, cultural, and linguistic diversity of students and to encourage school personnel and par-

ents to be allies of children in the school community. I worked with a team of people including resource teachers and project directors from Lomita Elementary School and Helena Street School to implement the County Office of Education multicultural training for school personnel. We established a multicultural team to present five-day institutes to the two schools combined. Five of the nine women leaders, Gloria, Esperanza, Citlaly, Genevieve, and Raquel, also attended these institutes. The institutes seemed to address the parent leaders' concerns and interests regarding racism and discrimination in the school community. Gloria, Raquel, and Genevieve also attended a trainer of trainers institute presented by the County Office of Education. The parent leaders decided that they wanted to develop a parent multicultural institute to address issues of concern to parents. Gloria voiced why she felt that parents needed their own multicultural training:

I think the idea surfaced because when we attend workshops that are designed especially for teachers it is not the same. Almost all the curriculum is directed towards activities that teachers can do with kids... It's not exactly the same as a class that is destined for parents because parents have different problems. And sometimes the problems we have are with the teachers. Many things are the same such as that we have to learn to treat each other well... But what happens when we need help to discipline our children directly. Or what happens when we need help with a teacher that is mistreating our children... It wasn't just my idea. It was the idea of the majority of parents that were participants.

Over an eight-month period the women leaders met to determine the goals and objectives of the Parent Multicultural Institute (PMI) and to develop the activities they would use. With support from myself, resource teachers, project directors and from consultants on multicultural training, the parent leaders designed a five-day PMI. The PMI was a *culturally specific program* (Gorman, 1996) designed by Mexican American parent leaders and multicultural education specialists to incorporate and reflect the values and culture of Latina/o parents and to attain the following goals: 1) educate parents on how to help their children grow up with positive

racial attitudes; 2) help parents develop understanding and communication skills for supporting their child's academic and social development; and 3) promote respect for human diversity.

Some of the key themes and topics addressed in the PMI were as follows:

Day 1- Communication: topics included getting to know one another; establishing ground rules for communication; introducing support groups; and improving communication at home between parents and children.

Day 2- Identity: topics included writing an "I Am From" poem; understanding and valuing your identity; and how to help your child grow up with positive racial attitudes; defining terms for racial/ethnic groups; and the importance of nurturing native culture and language.

Day 3- Identifying and Combating Prejudices: topics included identifying and understanding how we perpetuate prejudices in our homes and communities; and learning how not to teach prejudice to our children.

Day 4- Reading the World – Yes We Can!: topics included analyzing and looking for hidden messages in the media; analyzing discriminatory situations; how to help our children grow up with positive racial attitudes; helping parents know their rights and take action to help their children; making a plan of action to help their children; and helping participants become empowered allies with the school against racism and discrimination.

The PMI activities were facilitated by the Mexican American parent leaders and engaged participants in a wide variety of interactive and individual activities including cultural circles, role-playing, writing and sharing poetry and letters, literature based activities, films, and games. Participants engaged in daily constructivist listening support groups (Weissglass, 1997) for thirty minutes to allow them the time and space to process and reflect on their experiences. The support groups were composed of 4-5 participants and facilitated by one of the parent leaders. The PMI was unique in that it was a culturally specific parent education program designed by Mexican American parent leaders to address issues of race, class, and gender with mostly immigrant Latina/o parents. Approximately thirty parents from the two schools attended the PMI each year from 1999-2001. All of the participants were Latina women with the exception of one man.

Eight of the nine women leaders had extensive knowledge and experience in conceptualizing, planning, and presenting Family Math (Stenmark, Thompson, & Cossey, 1986) and Family Literacy classes to other parents through their involvement in federally funded projects in their schools. Family Math was a program developed at the Lawrence Hall of Science, University of California Berkeley, to address the needs of parents who wanted to help their children with mathematics. A typical Family Math course consisted of six to eight 1-2 hour sessions and engaged families in problem-solving activities and games using “hands-on” materials like toothpicks, pennies, beans and blocks. The classes also used commercially produced math tools such as geoboards and tangrams. The activities were fun and addressed relevant grade-level content while helping families to overcome “math anxiety.”

During the first year (1994) of presenting Family Math classes, the parent leaders received significant coaching and constructive feedback from a supportive teacher or project director. With practice the parent leaders became more capable of presenting Family Math on their own and they began to provide classes without the formal involvement of a teacher. In subsequent years they trained other parents to present Family Math classes and started a network of parent Family Math presenters in the local area. In April 1996 the parent leaders were filmed and featured in a Public Broadcasting System (PBS) series titled “Life by the Numbers: Making a Difference.” This is significant because the creators of the video series had searched nationwide for examples of parents teaching Family Math classes.

The parent leaders took some of the successful strategies and methods learned from Family Math and applied them to Family Literacy. They developed classes that used high quality culturally compatible Spanish/English children’s literature books, poetry, and sayings containing themes that reflected the lives and experiences of the families. Families engaged in discussions of the literary themes, creative art, writing, word games, and role-playing as a follow-up to the stories. Many of the stories had mathematics or science themes or content that the parent leaders incorporated into their lessons. Each school had developed variations of Family Literacy classes that are summarized in Table 1 with an “X” indicating that the school had implemented this program at their site.

Table 1. Description of the Family Literacy Program Variations at School Site

Description of the Family Literacy Program Variations	Helena St.	Lomita
Family Literacy. Classes were held on school campus and involved families in reading and discussing books, crafts, and creative writing.	X	X
Classroom Reader Program. Trained parent volunteers, read stories to children in their classrooms.	X	X
Parent Coaching Program. Trained parent coaches, visited homes of students to model and train families how to engage with literature. Books and materials were provided to the families at no charge.	X	
Home Reading Program. Trained parent volunteers, visited classrooms to assist students in selecting a book to take home to read and to complete a book report. Parent volunteers logged the titles of books read by students and reviewed their book reports.	X	
Birthday Books Club. Parent volunteers raised funds to purchase books and invited every student during the month of their birthday to select the book of their choice.		

The background and experiences of the parent leaders provided them with a powerful repertoire of cultural capital in the form of knowledge and information about curricular issues; the workings of the school and district; and what it takes to enter, stay in school, and graduate from the university. From this acquired collective cultural capital, the women leaders tended to cultivate positive relationships with their children's teachers in order to get information and to assure the best possible education for their children. Other parents were also sources of knowledge about which teachers were the best for their children. Esperanza shared how she would get information to help her son, "Before my children would leave their teacher I would ask the teacher which teacher they recommended. They would tell me. So I have always asked their current teacher for recommendations for the next teacher." Gloria employed another tactic, which was to ask other parents their opinions about teachers:

I try to ask other parents, because other parents know the teachers. It's good to talk with teachers and parents. That way you find out which are the best teachers in the school. Because I am involved I have greater access to more information. By knowing more parents they tell us about their experiences with some teachers.

Gloria actively collected information from as many sources as possible in order to decide the best possible teacher for her children. Her insider status as a school volunteer allowed her greater access to information. To summarize then, their children's teachers, other parents, and their years of school involvement were the primary sources of information for the women leaders. The following narratives are examples of how the women activated their knowledge to help the children.

ACTIVATING COLLECTIVE CULTURAL CAPITAL

The women leaders shared their cultural capital with other parents via the informal social networks in the school community and through the formalized structures of Family Math, Family Literacy, parent leadership classes and the Parent Multicultural Institute. Gloria, a parent leader, described an incident like this that occurred in a Family Math class:

One example is one of these ladies asked me, "What can I do to help my nephew? He is my nephew and she [referring to the mother] isn't motivated to talk to the teacher. The teacher is mistreating him. She scolds him when he doesn't do the things well. She tells him, "You don't know how to do this." She doesn't motivate him... She is not treating him well. What can I do?" Then I immediately guide her. I tell her-"First, try to talk to the teacher. If you can't fix the problems there, then you have to go higher. Tell her directly what you don't like that she is doing with your nephew."

In the above example Gloria was coaching the aunt about how to deal (in a culturally appropriate way) with her nephew's teacher. She was explaining the system in the school that requires that you see the teacher first before going to higher levels. She was also providing instruction by telling the teacher directly what she didn't like about the teacher's behavior.

In another example of activation Esperanza describes how she alerted other parents to a particularly poor teacher:

When Juan Felipe [her son] was going to go into the 3rd grade, I talked to all the mothers of all those children. I told them what was

happening. Many of them said that they wanted to give the teacher a chance and that they wanted to check it out first. Only about five mothers did not allow their children to go into this man's classroom...I tell them spread the word, but don't say where it came from... They might fire me.

Apparently, spreading the word about perceived teacher quality had a significant impact. The Helena Street School bilingual coordinator informed me that parents were currently requesting more room changes than in recent years in order to avoid the placement of their children with poor teachers. The preceding examples of social-cultural activation are consistent with (Lareau & Horvat, 1999) characterization of social-cultural capital as moments of exclusion and moments of inclusion. In the school setting, they defined moments of inclusion as the coming together of various forces to provide an advantage in the child's academic future, such as being placed with a well-qualified teacher or being counseled to take college preparatory classes. On the other hand, moments of exclusion were repeating a grade, or the failure to take college preparatory classes, or placement in low reading groups (Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

FIGHTING LINGUISTIC DENIGRATION

The parents wielded their collective cultural capital for fighting language discrimination. Eight of the study's nine women leaders actively participated in the political struggle against the 1998 California Proposition 227, English for the Children Initiative. The parents actively opposed the initiative by demonstrating, walking precincts, phone-banking, and raising money. Furthermore, and after passage of the proposition, the women leaders provided information to parents through their social networks about how the parents were required to come to school to sign a waiver to keep their children in bilingual education programs. This was a contributing factor to the maintenance of the bilingual programs through June 2001 at both of the study site schools, in spite of the new law. In 2001, out of a total of 1200 students at Helena Street, 1000, or 83%, were English Language Learners (ELL). Of the ELL students, 840 of 1000, or

84%, were on signed waivers to the bilingual program (Personal Communication, Helena St. Bilingual Coordinator, June 4, 2001). In that same year Lomita had 635 ELL students out of 900, or 70%. Of these ELL students, 389 of 635, or 61%, were on waivers to the bilingual program (Personal Communication, Lomita Project Director, June 2, 2001). This contrasted with other schools in the state and district whose bilingual programs were virtually destroyed (Mora, 2002; Sahagun, 1998a, 1998b).

Parents worked against the linguistic and cultural denigration in the school by selecting and using high quality, culturally compatible, bilingual (Spanish/English) children's books for their family literacy classes and programs. This sent a powerful message to parents and children that they were valued and respected by the school community. By engaging families in discussions about themes and topics relevant to their lives it helped Latina/o families to connect with the school community and feel more welcome.

IMPACT OF COLLECTIVE CULTURAL CAPITAL ON LOMITA AND HELENA FAMILIES

Parent involvement programs in the two schools shared similar patterns of impact on children and parents (see Table 2). One key area was in supplying cultural capital to families in the form of culturally compatible books to read at home with family members. Family Math and Family Literacy classes provided parent participants opportunities to learn about the culture of the school and to learn mathematics and literacy skills that they could use to help their children. This type of information represented valuable social and cultural capital that could be transformed into educational benefits for their children. Parent volunteers in the literacy programs were able to establish social contacts with teachers when they went in to read to the students or help them select books. These informal social contacts resulted in greater opportunities for the volunteers to collect information to help them make informed choices about their children's next teachers. The parent volunteers could also activate their increasing knowledge of the school when necessary to help their children. Table 2 was inspired by one developed by Monkman, et al. (2005,

p.19) to describe social and cultural capital in an urban Latino school community. This table provides some representative examples of the activation of different forms of capital by Lomita and Helena Street parents and the potential for transformation into educational benefits.

Table 2. Collective Cultural Capital of Lomita and Helena Street School Parents

Type of Capital and Mode of Acquisition	Activation of Capital	Cultural Knowledge & Potential for Transformation into Educational Benefits
Cultural capital (objectified). Books (bilingual Spanish/English, culturally compatible) were provided to families.	Families read books with their children and practiced the care and handling of books.	Books are valuable. Knowing how to handle and care for books is part of the culture of schooling.
Cultural capital (embodied). Families learned how to discuss the literary themes and content of culturally compatible books through their participation in Family Literacy classes and programs.	Families discussed literary themes and the connection of these themes to their lives. Families wrote stories and created arts and crafts related to books.	Families' culture, language, values and life experiences are important and are reflected in culturally and linguistically compatible books. Families can engage with literary themes. Creativity and artistry can support understanding of literary themes and content. Pride in one's culture and language can support success in school. Families have valuable knowledge and insights that can help their children learn and succeed in school.
Cultural Capital (embodied). Families learned the importance of math as a gatekeeper course to college and valuing the intellectual challenge of solving math problems through Family Math classes.	Families played math games and engaged in mathematical problem solving. Families helped their children with mathematics homework.	Families have the capacity to solve challenging mathematical problems. Families can help their children with their mathematics homework or contact other parents from the Family Math class to help their children. Succeeding in advanced mathematics courses is critical for entry to college. Going to college is important.
Cultural Capital (embodied). Parents learned how to conduct themselves in a parent-teacher (PT) conference about their child's progress through the MALDEF parent leadership classes.	Parents asking teachers questions about their child's academic progress during a (PT) conference and requesting specifics about how to support their child's education.	Usually, teachers want to discuss a child's academic progress with parents and look favorably on parents that ask questions about how to support their child's academic progress. Learning the culture of U.S schooling is important to a student's academic success.
Social Capital. Parents talking with other parents within their informal social networks or during parent education classes. Parents talking to teachers to get useful information.	Parents requesting that their child be placed with a particular teacher.	Some teachers are better than others. Parents' skills at activating capital can impact their child's educational future.
Social Capital. Parents learning how to raise their children without racial, class, and gender biases through the Parent Multicultural Institute.	Parents modeling and communicating to their children respect for human diversity.	A child's social well-being includes learning respect for self and others. Families can take an active role in modeling and communicating respect for diversity. Respect for human diversity is important.

The MALDEF parent leadership classes were an example of critical consciousness and social/cultural capital in action. The parent leadership classes were the social organization through which social/cultural capital could be transferred and practiced. By educating parents about their rights and responsibilities regarding their children's education, parents could activate this capital at the appropriate time to support and advocate for their children's education. The effectiveness of this activation was still dependent on the parent(s)' skills and knowledge about when, how, and where to activate their capital. For example, requesting a "good" teacher for their child or knowing what questions to ask during a parent-teacher conference about their child's academic progress. Knowing and acting on the knowledge that their children had to be enrolled in and successfully complete college preparatory courses in secondary school was critical to their child's potential attainment of educational degrees.

The parent leaders' socio-political awareness about Proposition 227 and its potential threat to bilingual education motivated them to take focused political action (precinct walking, phone banking, etc.) within the local community. The parent leaders' development and implementation of a parent multicultural institute (PMI) was another example of critical consciousness regarding racism, classism, and sexism taking a focused form as an institute to educate other parents about these issues. The PMI created a social organization in which parent participants could acquire information about how to address their children's social well being.

Another significant finding in this study was that the women leaders' high level of involvement in the schools seemed to translate into increased self-esteem and academic performance for their daughters. Citlaly described her daughter's career interests:

When I started doing [Family Math] presentations they wanted to do presentations. I think that's where they got the idea to be teachers... She [Elena] wants to be a mathematics teacher. She has such a facility for math. I stand there with my mouth open. Her math teacher told me that she understands things he doesn't understand. She just has it. She is in calculus. ... I think her interest in mathematics started when she saw us.

Genevieve's daughters reported being inspired by their mother's example. Margarita, daughter of Genevieve, made the following comments about her mother's influence, "I always speak up in school. My teachers like me because I am not quiet. I stand up for what I think is right." Genevieve showed me her daughter's 10th grade report. She was taking chemistry and Algebra and getting excellent grades. Her other daughter, Cassie, shared, "I am not afraid to say what is on my mind. I don't care if people like me or not. I just speak my mind. I am not afraid."

Five of the seven women with daughters, or 71%, specifically commented on this phenomenon, which merits further investigation. Raquel, mother of two sons, commented on how her sons had become comfortable with her role as a teacher and leader, apart from being a mother.

CONCLUSION

Chicana/Mexicana working class parent leaders hold the cultural capital cards for confronting oppression on all levels. The parent leaders' cultural capital was rooted in the oppression and hardships that they faced as low-income women, as Mexican Americans, and as immigrants. These findings are consistent with Trueba's (2002, p. 7) hypothesis that immigrants' experiences with oppression and abuse can generate "resiliency and the cultural capital to succeed." The parent leaders' early socialization inculcated the values of compassion and caring for others, resistance, collectivism, and sacrifice for the common good. The values from their families and communities, combined with the women's knowledge of the schools, manifested as social and cultural capital that the women activated to benefit children in the school community. Critical consciousness was part of the embodied cultural capital of the parent leaders.

The key with critical consciousness was its potential to inform the parent leaders' agency. Krishna (2002, p. xi), in a study of social capital of villages in India, argued that "agency helps to make social capital active."

The power of critical consciousness was that it provided tools for the individual and group to analyze, understand and take focused action for social justice within a particular institutional setting. The Family Literacy classes were an example of the connection between the parent leaders'

social/cultural capital and their critical consciousness. They had learned how to conduct Family Math classes (embodied cultural capital) that they applied within a different context (Family Reading). However, their use of culturally compatible, bilingual (Spanish/English) children's literature demonstrated their critical consciousness about the need to support and value the families' cultural capital (language, traditions and culture) instead of acquiescing to the institutionalized calls for English Only instruction. The act of encouraging traditionally marginalized Chicana/o/Latina/o families to write and create their own books was to conceptualize families as the holders of valuable cultural capital that deserved to be recorded and honored in books to be shared with others.

As working class parents, women, immigrants, and Latinas, the parent leaders held cultural capital in the form of knowledge and insight about how best to reach parents like themselves. With the coaching and help of supportive teachers, school administrators, consultants, and project directors, the parent leaders' cultural capital was cultivated and allowed expression within the school community. For example, the parent leaders employed popular education strategies and methods such as role playing, teatro, and manipulatives (Werner & Bower, 2001), as well as effective teaching strategies learned from educators, such as collaborative learning and games. The women shared their collective cultural capital with other parents via informal social networks and the formalized structures of Family Math and Family Literacy classes. These programs were different from other parent involvement programs in low-income schools in that they were conceptualized and implemented by Mexicana/Chicana parent leaders from the school community.

The women conceptualized leadership as community oriented and interdependent. They especially noted the importance of caring for other unrelated children, not just their own. At the root of the women's motivations seemed to be their dreams for a better world for all children. One of the significant aspects of the parent leaders' social/cultural capital was that it shifted the social organizational paradigm from one parent acting for their child to parents acting collectively to benefit other children apart from their own. Organized groups of parents advocating for many children is consistent with Coleman's (1988) notion of intergenerational clo-

sure in a social network. For example, at Lomita and Helena parent volunteers read to or helped groups of children to select books to take home and read. These activities and the parent volunteers' social relationships with each other helped to create the norm that books were valuable commodities and that children were expected to read books themselves and listen to books being read to them. Such norms for behavior could translate into important educational benefits for children.

However, in spite of the parent leaders' social/cultural capital, it is important not to mask or diminish the critical power relations that ultimately determine what happens in schools. The limitations of the parent leaders' capital were evident in several key areas- they had little or no say about what curriculum was taught to their children, how the curriculum was delivered, how the progress of their children was measured, and who was hired to teach their children or administer the school.

At the theoretical level, this study suggests the possibilities for employing aspects of Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory to explore the language and activities of human beings as social products, and as aspects of historical development. In other areas, focusing a critical theoretical lens on cultural capital can help us to develop ideas about how material conditions (i.e., oppression and privilege) and social structures, such as the family and other social institutions, shape social and cultural capital. One aspect of this study that was not addressed was that of the relationship between individual and collective actions and between individual and collective subjects.

At the practical level, this study points to the need for a paradigm shift from a deficit model towards a new orientation and understanding of the tremendous strengths of Latina/o parents. To understand and see the full humanity and dignity of Latina/o parents and their potential for supporting their children's education requires vision, compassion, and leadership from administrators, teachers, and policy makers all along the education pipeline. Schools and districts need to invest resources to cultivate parents' and families' social and cultural capital to support the education of children. One of the most important issues facing those of us in the education field is whether we have the commitment and moral courage to question our current practices and policies, and to engage authentically with parents and community in the struggle for high quality and empowering education for all children.

Endnotes

¹ The term Mexicana/Chicana is used interchangeably with Latina and refers to women of Mexican heritage born either in Mexico or the United States. Eight of the nine women in this study preferred the term Mexicana.

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CHAPTER NINE

Changing Agricultural Labor Laws in California: The Struggle for SB 1736

Susan Marie Green, California State University Chico

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, Governor Jerry Brown signed the landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) in California giving farm workers the right to organize, the right to elect their own union representation, and the right to bargain for labor contracts. Since the 1970s, growers in California have tried to erode the Act by not negotiating in “good faith” with workers who elected the United Farm Workers (UFW) as their union representatives. California Senate Bill 1736, sponsored by Representative John Burton (D-San Francisco), would have provided binding arbitration to the ALRA, forcing growers to the table, some of whom had been stalling on union contracts for almost thirty years, essentially nullifying the act.

The Agricultural Labor Relations Act was designed to ensure peaceful negotiations, stable agricultural labor relations, and a degree of justice for farm workers through due process, and to enforce the rights and responsibilities of both growers and workers. The act created the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to conduct secret ballot elections on whether or not workers wanted to organize, and by whom they wished to

be represented. Second, the ALRB was to prevent and remedy unfair labor practices that hindered the right to self-organization and collective bargaining.¹ However, the ALRB lacked an enforcement mechanism to ensure good-faith bargaining, thus the need for SB 1736.

This paper provides a first-hand peregrino's account of the United Farm Workers' 165-mile march through the San Joaquin Valley in August of 2002. It will address the goals of the March and Senate Bill 1736. It will also address the outcomes of the march and the signature by Governor Gray Davis of replacement bills SB 1156 and AB 2596. This paper will discuss the oral and literary aspects of the march in six categories: chants; songs; plays; poetry; speeches; and prayer. This paper addresses the war on workers' rights waged by agri-business since the inception of the UFW almost four decades ago. It also demonstrates how the tried and true tactics of the Chicana/o Movement are still viable in the twenty-first century global economy.

THE MARCH FOR THE GOVERNOR'S SIGNATURE

On Thursday August 15, 2002, as co-coordinator of Chicano Studies at California State University Chico (CSUC), I brought my 3-year-old son to Merced, California to begin this historic 165-mile march with the United Farm Workers (UFW). Leading the march were UFW President Arturo Rodríguez, and UFW co-founder Dolores Huerta. This peregrinación, or pilgrimage, would become known as "The March for the Governor's Signature." Eventually, fellow NACCS member Dr. Paul López of CSUC joined, along with CSUC alumni César Lara. MEChA students from CSUC also marched on the last day, with 5,000 others, and helped keep vigil at the state capitol in Sacramento until Governor Gray Davis signed important amendments to the state's Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). Thirty-six years earlier, César Chávez had walked this route, bringing farm workers' plight to the Governor's office. In 2002, it was once again time for the UFW to march to bring attention to the abuse of farm workers' rights under the ALRA.

At the time of the sponsorship of SB 1736, three-quarters of California's farm workers still earned less than \$10,000 per year, and nine out of ten workers still had no health coverage.² Clearly, more needed to be done. The march began because Governor Davis' office indicated the Governor would veto the bill despite previous promises to sign it. So, the UFW employed this effective strategy for gaining attention and putting pressure on a Democratic governor who had been elected with Labor and UFW support.

Under César Chávez's leadership, the UFW sparked many important changes in agricultural labor laws and practices in California and throughout the United States, such as:

- one of, if not the first, successful collective bargaining agreements between farm workers and growers (Schenley);
- union contracts requiring rest periods, drinking water, hand-washing facilities, and protections against pesticides;
- farm labor contractors (enganchistas) and guarantees on seniority, job security, a pension plan (Juan de la Cruz Pension Plan), and health benefits (Robert Kennedy Farm Workers Medical Plan);
- the first union contracts to provide profit-sharing, parental leave, and protections for female workers from discrimination and harassment;
- abolition of the short-handled hoe, also known as "el cortito."

Thus, the enforcement mechanism being added to the ALRA by the UFW was just a logical continuation of the many UFW struggles and gains over the past three decades.³

The march route taken by the peregrinos covered 10 to 20 miles a day, as follows:

- Thursday, August 15, 2002--Merced to Livingston;
- Friday, August 16, 2002--Livingston to Turlock;
- Saturday, August 17, 2002--Turlock to Modesto;
- Sunday, August 18, 2002--Modesto to Manteca;
- Monday, August 19, 2002--Manteca to Stockton;
- Tuesday, August 20, 2002--Stockton to Lodi;
- Wednesday, August 21, 2002--Lodi to Galt;

- Thursday, August 22, 2002--Galt to Walnut Grove;
- Friday, August 23, 2002--Walnut Grove to Hood;
- Saturday, August 24, 2002--Hood to César Chávez Plaza (Sacramento);
- Sunday, August 25, 2002—César Chávez Plaza to state Capitol.⁴

Each day of marching began with mass and ended with a rally, mass, and dinner at a local church or union hall. Marchers were housed with farm workers and community members at the end of each night. Each day, lunch and beverages were provided along the route by supporters of the UFW, many of whom had been involved with previous boycotts or marches. During breaks, marchers played guitar and sang songs, read poetry they had written, and performed skits improvised while walking. Peregrinos, or marchers, came from all walks of life and for a variety of reasons. There were UFW members and workers, college students and faculty, famous Chicano Studies folks like writer Gary Soto, clergymen, and union members who were pipe-fitters, electricians, and corrections officers, just to name a few. Along the way, many state politicians and Hollywood celebrities joined, as did many of César Chavez's children, in-laws, and grandchildren. All the time we sang, chanted, waved flags, and always stayed five feet apart behind the white line of the shoulder.

On Sunday August 25, UFW supporters and thousands of farm workers from throughout the state joined peregrinos for a rally and celebration of the march's end. The following day, Monday August 26, hundreds carried SB 1736 to Governor Davis' office, along with a giant pen constructed of cardboard and carried along the route by "Don Francisco," a peregrino in his seventies. This day also marked the beginning of an irregular round-the-clock vigil on the capitol stairs until the anticipated signature of the governor.

After many days of public debates and speculation in the media about the possible veto of SB 1736, two related bills were crafted in conjunction with the Governor's office and introduced: SB 1156, also sponsored by Senator John Burton, and AB 2596, sponsored by Assembly Speaker Herb Wesson (D-Los Angeles). The bills called for mediation in place of binding arbitration, and the inclusion of a controversial five-year "sunset" clause, or expiration. The growers claimed it was "the same gift in a different package." The

two bills also capped the number of mediations at 75, or less than 1/1000 of a percent of the state's estimated 86,000 farms. Eventually, Governor Davis indeed vetoed SB 1736 and signed the compromise bills SB 1156 and AB 2596, providing for 30-60 day negotiations with an agreed-upon panel of mediators. It was a victory for farm workers and labor in the state. It again raised the standard for other state governments, and the federal government as well, but left a bad taste in the mouths of workers who had to march to remind the Governor of his campaign promises.

The new law took effect January 1, 2003 and a full set of regulations for implementation could be ready in April 2003. Growers fought for and lost the right to exclude ALRB subpoenas of their financial records (although there are limits), and to limit information requests from parties other than the union or grower.⁵ Also, the Western Growers Association and California Farm Bureau filed a lawsuit in the Superior Court in February of this year, claiming the law as unconstitutional. Growers claim the law violates their rights to property and equal protection in collective bargaining.⁶ So, as with the ban on DDT and the short-handled hoe, and the adoption of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act itself, growers are once again claiming these new worker protections will be the death of agriculture in California. Some things never change.

But, what did change between César Chávez's march of this route and the March for the Governor's Signature 36 years later was significant.

First, public awareness and support had changed. Californians had benefited from almost four decades of UFW education and consciousness-raising. Dozens of anonymous supporters showed-up on roadsides, honked their horns, or distributed food and water they purchased. That's not to say we didn't see one-finger salutes or attempts to run us down in Lodi and Stockton, but the dominant sentiment was that if the UFW was marching, it must be something important. Many spontaneously joined the march or shared stories of their previous experiences with César Chávez or the union. There was so much support everyone joked this was the one march on which everyone actually GAINED weight!

Second, grower support changed. This time, small growers who supported the UFW, or growers whose workers signed with the UFW and had

contracts, marched *with* the UFW and made donations. There was less grower violence. As one veterano remarked, “the chicken-shit growers used to shoot from the vineyards.” Now growers applied more subtle pressure on Governor Davis’ office directly by donating over \$100,000 the week before the march began.

Third, police support changed. Again, if we think back to the 1960s and 1970s, the police were the first to crack down physically on striking or boycotting farm workers, doing the work of the growers. This time the California Highway Patrol (CHP) assigned two officers who worked in conjunction with local law enforcement to ensure the safety of the peregrinos and those who stopped or slowed to show their support. The CHP also wisely assigned bilingual Chicano officers, union members themselves, to go the distance. They entertained bored children, ate meals with the peregrinos, and encouraged us with humor over the loudspeakers on long afternoons, such as asking: “who wants to run the last mile?” When we arrived in Sacramento on Saturday evening, August 24, 2002, one officer announced: “Welcome home, Raza. It’s been an honor to work with you.”

And fourth, government officials took aggressive public stands against a governor from their own party. Members of the Latino Caucus of the California State Legislature, such as Dr. Gloria Romero (D-Los Angeles), Marco Firebaugh (D-Southgate), Martha Escutia (D-Montebello), Richard Alarcon (D-San Fernando) marched, as did State Treasurer Phil Angelides, to name just a few. Attorney General Bill Lockyer donated cases of bottled water that bore his name, the UFW eagle, and the phrase “Si Se Puede,” on neon labels. Granted, all politically astute moves in an election year, but the acknowledgement that farm workers, and Latinos/as in general in California, need to be recognized and addressed to survive in state politics. The March for the Governor’s Signature demonstrated a greater awareness that catering to growers with large bank accounts alone is not going to be enough anymore.

These are some of the outward details of The March for the Governor’s Signature, but the personal and historic experiences of marching and keeping vigil are perhaps the more interesting stories.

Chants and shouts have been a vital part of the UFW since its inception. Familiar ones such as *Si Se Puede* (it can be done); *Huelga* (strike); or *Se Ve, Se Siente, El Pueblo Está Presente* (the community is present to witness and testify); on the long march occasionally transformed into the similarly sounding *Agua* (water), when the water truck passed, or *Se Ve, Se Siente, El Baño Está Presente* (loosely translated, the bathroom is finally here), when the toilet truck finally stopped. Other pieces of folk wisdom circulated up and down the line surrounding these common amenities, such as what you should do if the bathroom truck takes off with you still inside the porta-potty. The answer, of course, was put down the lid!

Music and songs were also an integral part of each day. Music played from the loudspeakers of the UFW radio station, *Radio Campesina*, helped pass the long miles. Traditional UFW songs such as “*De Colores*,” or “*We Shall Overcome*,” were daily standards. Occasional cumbias or polkas were also broadcast to pick up the pace. During lunch or dinner breaks many peregrinos played guitars and sang corridos or ballads.

A theater group also formed during the 10-day march: *El Teatro Peregrino*, *The Pilgrims’ Theater*, composed mostly of college students. During breaks they performed self-scripted pieces that dramatized and satirized daily life as we had come to know it.

There was also poetry. Sacramento’s Brother Phil Goldvarg wrote many inspiring poems and read them at breakfast or lunch. He distributed copies in the morning with pictures of César Chávez or Dolores Huerta adorning the pages. On photocopies he made himself, dated August 17, 2002, Brother Phil distributed “*La Marcha de Agosto ~2002, Merced to Sacramento, SB~1736 Si Se Puede*”:

*gente’s feet drum la tierra,
gritos fill day’s air
con sueños y esperanzas,
UFW is on the march
for justicia y arbitration,
a fair deal at la mesa,
campesinos llenos con Corazon*

*almas fuertes
con banderas de argullo,
a black Tagle flies above,
wings singing si se puede,
we know it's Cesar,
the miles fall like wounded oppressors,
each step leads to a promise,
in resistencia lives el poder de nosotros,
veteranos y jovencitos
walk side by side,
passing consejos y sueños nuevos,
la lucha is never ending,
each day a move to survival,
somos juntos,
gente del sol.
workers of this earth,
gritamos justicia,
fair mediation,
option of arbitration,
we drum la tierra
shout to growers and opposers,
our sueños will be reality.⁷*

And finally, there were hundreds of speeches, and dozens of masses and prayers, in English and in Spanish. They were improvised, impassioned, and the result of years of practice. Speakers continually reminded us of the significance of our efforts and kept us going as life became increasingly painful and surreal. Dolores Huerta, Arturo Rodríguez, John Burton, Richard Alarcón, Gloria Romero, Bishop García, and many others made great speeches urging us onward in our effort. One of the most memorable mid-day talks was by Dolores Huerta when introducing President Pro-Tem John Burton outside Walnut Grove on one of the hottest and longest days of the march. Dolores noted in Spanish that John Burton told her that when he got into office he wasn't going to forget where he came from and "no voy a chingar a la gente pobre!" (I will not screw the poor). Even the monolingual peregrinos needed no translation as an uproar of laughter and applause erupted from the tired marchers.

There was the daily interaction with fellow peregrinos: jokes about dogs in passing pickup trucks (one day Brother Santos commented on a ferociously barking chocolate Labrador retriever in the back of a truck by noting that it was a “Chicano dog. It’s brown and has attitude!”); discussions of workers we passed picking pears; and speculation about whether or not the Governor cared about a bunch of Don Quixotes walking in the hot August sun. While many people were excited to talk with author Gary Soto and tell them how much they enjoyed his work, he was asking people their stories and why they were marching, taking in every detail of their words and actions, and making mental notes surely to be used in some future literary masterpiece. Every day when asked how she was feeling, Dolores Huerta would say the same thing: “Oh, I’m fine. I’m just walking. This isn’t hard work. Hard work is what the people in the fields are doing...” UFW President Arturo Rodríguez gave interviews on National Public Radio (NPR) from his cell-phone while hiking along. Could César have envisioned Chicanos on cell-phones on the picket line? It was these types of personal interactions and orality that kept us walking five-feet apart, behind the white line of the shoulder, for 165 miles.

Endnotes

1 For more information about the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and Agricultural Labor Relations Act, including the current implementation status of SB 1156 and AB 2596, visit the Boards webpage located at <http://www.alrb.ca.gov>.

2 For more information on the current situation of California’s farm workers, visit the official union web page at <http://www.ufw.org>.

3 For more information about UFW contributions, visit <http://www.ufw.org>.

4 For more information on the route of “The March for the Governor’s Signature,” or to view newspaper accounts of the march, visit the UFW’s web page at <http://www.ufw.org>.

5 Lesli A. Maxwell, “Rules set to guide farm contract law,” *Fresno Bee*, published March 3, 2003, accessed on March 26, 2003 at <http://www.fresnobee.com/local/v-print/story/6314276p-7264022c.html>.

6 Jake Henshaw, “Farm groups challenge new labor law,” *Visalia Times Delta*, published February 25, 2003, accessed on March 26, 2003 at <http://www.visaliatimesdelta.com/news/stories/20030225/localnews/1055719.html>.

7 Ms possession of author.

CHAPTER TEN

Chicanismo, Patriotism, September 11th, 2001: A NACCS Political Stance on the War on Terrorism

Raoul Contreras, Indiana University Northwest

Chicanismo, Patriotism, September 11th, 2001 – A NACCS Political Stance on The War on Terrorism was a panel session held at the 2002 annual spring meeting of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) held in Chicago. That panel session initiated a process that generated NACCS organizational resolutions of opposition to the War on Terror. This NACCS action was the first formal declaration of opposition to the War on Terror by a national Latino organization in the U.S. Most likely, it was the first such formal anti-war stance taken by any national academic association in the nation.¹ This essay reflects upon the organization's opposition to the War on Terrorism and the ensuing efforts to practically implement this anti-war political stance. These year-long efforts concluded with the 2003 annual spring meeting in Los Angeles, California.

BACKGROUND

September 11th, 2001 (9/11) now demarcates contemporary U.S. history. Four years later, in the Fall of 2005, the social, political, and cultural implications of that day's events are still unfolding. However, even the

immediate consequences of “9/11” on the development of U.S. culture and society have been considerable.

Foremost, at the international level the attack on the trade towers and the Pentagon in 2001 initiated a new and escalating phase in a continuing dance between “terrorism” and U.S. military aggression that many would argue is driven by imperialist motives. This can be seen first through the war and occupation of Afghanistan, and later through the war and no-end-in-sight military occupation of Iraq. At home, 9/11 has meant a concomitant and increasingly tightening curtailment of civil liberties and rights, a growing militarization of U.S. culture, and an intensification of social divisions and social inequalities based on race, class, and gender.²

In this essay, I argue that an assertive Chicana/o role in post-September 11th history-making, particularly in opposing U.S. imperialism abroad and fascism at home, is inherent in the ideals and historical foundations of Chicano Studies and NACCS. This is to say that among the many consequences and implications brought about by September 11th, 2001, it also unveiled anew the ideological dimension of Chicano history and culture (Romano 1968; Gomez-Quinones 1971) inscribed in Chicano identity as a “colonized minority” of the U.S. (Blauner 1969; 1972).³

Personally, a realization about the significance of September 11th, 2001 came rather immediately. On September 13th, the university administration at Indiana University Northwest in Gary, Indiana organized a “detraumatizing” community gathering, similar to those held on many campuses and communities across the nation immediately after the terrorist attacks. This one was structured with a panel of faculty members who were selected on the basis of their campus familiarity/popularity and/or presumed historical, political, sociological, or psychological academic expertise relevant to the events of 9/11. In addition to that, I was specifically asked to join the panel because of my status as one of the campus’ very few “minority” faculty members.

A CHICANO PERSPECTIVE ON 9/11

The university's "community meeting" was held in a filled-to-capacity auditorium. My presentation began by explicitly identifying myself as a "Chicano" presenting a "Chicano perspective." While assertively condemning the indiscriminate violence and death, and specifically the unambiguous targeting of civilians on September 11th, the presentation placed the terrorist attack squarely in a historical context of U.S. imperialism, and especially U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East that negatively impacts Palestine specifically and the Islamic world generally.

A "passionate" discussion followed with audience debate, focusing largely on the misinterpretation of my historical analysis for a "justification" of the terrorist attack. What's more, the discussion began with a white female student asking, with a proud sarcasm and an unconcealed hostility and disgust, "why do you call yourself a 'Chicano'... why don't you call yourself an 'American?'" I gave an assertive answer.

As the discussion continued, the emotional, racial, patriotic nature of the give-and-take made clear to me how 9/11 had reshaped my political agenda as a Chicano educator, and I felt, the political agenda of Chicano/a Studies and its national organization, The National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS). Hence, my response to the student's question, "why do you call yourself a Chicano...", in the context of analyzing the events of 9/11, became the substantive thesis for a panel proposal submitted a few weeks later to the 2002 NACCS national conference coordinating committee. This panel abstract posed that "Chicano identity" mandated opposition to the Bush administration's recently declared "War on Terror." It also indicated that a specific goal for the panel would be spurring NACCS into adopting an activist "anti-war political stance."

2002 NACCS NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The following spring the panel was held during an early morning session on Thursday March 28th, the first "working day" of the association's annual meeting held in Chicago, Illinois. The panel was well attended (35-40) for an early morning session on the first day of the conference.

Seated on the panel were Rene Nunez, a Professor of Chicano Studies at San Diego State University, and Elizabeth “Betita” Martinez, an activist scholar from the Institute for Multiracial Justice in San Francisco, California. Nunez and Martinez were specifically recruited for the panel because they were, and are, two of the more significant individual participants in the political history of Chicano Studies/NACCS.⁴ They were also on the panel because they were identifiable within the association by the anti-imperialist orientation of their politics.⁵ Also on the panel was Raoul Contreras, a Professor of Latino Studies at Indiana University Northwest in Gary Indiana. Miguel Rodriguez, an undergraduate student at the University of Illinois, Chicago, was a fourth panelist.

Betita Martinez led the panel with a historical analysis that linked the “War on Terror” to “Manifest Destiny” and 19th century Chicano history. Her role was to assert an ideological linkage between “Chicano history” and opposition to the so-called “War on Terror.” Nunez followed with an analysis of the “War on Afghanistan.” His focus was to assert the anti-imperialist orientation of the panel’s opposition to the “War on Terror.” He was followed by Rodriguez’ summary of student anti-war activism. Contreras’ paper concluded the panel presentations. Its role was to explain the purpose of the panel—organizing a NACCS political stance against the War on Terrorism.

THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF NACCS

Thematically, this presentation academically grounded the rationale for the panel’s goal in the history and ideology of NACCS; that is, its political identity.⁶ The panel’s thesis maintained that the very manner in which NACCS articulated its history, its traditions, its beliefs and values, and through the very manner in which its constituting documents explained the association’s origin, this mandated and obligated an oppositional political stance toward the so-called “War on Terror.” Martinez’ presentation had implied that argument in terms of relating 19th century Chicano history to the “War on Terror.” Further, Nunez’ analysis that the War on Terror was more properly understandable as a war “for oil,” included an argument that NACCS as an organization, and Chicano/a Studies as an academic discipline, had to take a political stand against the war on the

basis of their anti-imperialist history and principles. Added justification for this argument emerges from a discussion on the organization's identity.

CHICANO MOVEMENT CHICANO STUDIES

Literally, the acronym NACCS refers to the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies. Thus, the substantive question to really address was, "What is it about the identity of Chicana/Chicano Studies that mandates a political stance on the War on Terror?" In the 1997 edition of *Mexican American Perspectives*, the article, "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science and 'Self-Conscious' Ideology," addressed this question in the specific way that it was being put forward in the 2002 panel (Contreras 1997). That article posited that Chicano Studies' political identity was inherent in the relationship between the dual dimensions of its historical origin as both a new "social science" and as a "self-conscious ideology" of the Chicano Movement.⁷

Chicana/o Studies was a "social science" in that it was an academically based multidisciplinary approach to studying and understanding the social world. It was a "new" social scientific view of the world because, in contrast to "traditional" social sciences originating with the cultural revolution of the 18th century European Enlightenment, Chicano Studies emerged out of the cultural revolution and social activism of a 20th century Chicano Movement.

It was this origin as an element of Chicano Movement social activism, not just as an accomplishment or consequence of that activism, that had inscribed Chicano Studies with its ideological dimension and political identity. Chicano Studies was not just a new social scientific view of the world; it was also a social science expression of the worldview, or ideology of the Chicano Movement.⁸ A militant political opposition to U.S. imperialism was an integral aspect of that Chicano Movement worldview (Mariscal 2002, 2005; Oropeza 2005). Thus, the underlying goal of the March 28th panel became to spur NACCS, as the professional organization of Chicana/o Studies, into an organizing role that reasserted this Chicana/o Studies legacy in the context of political opposition to the "War on Terror."

The discussion period following the panel presentations was enthusiastic and productive. It generated a commitment by those in attendance to “talk up” the need for an anti-war resolution(s) over the course of the conference in the various regional FOCOs to which they were affiliated.⁹ What’s more, a small group formed among the panel audience and panel participants to draft a resolution that could be proposed at regional FOCO meetings for endorsement, and subsequently for a discussion and vote at the conference’s concluding business meeting. The text utilized in the planned resolution emphasized the basic themes of the panel presentations, and stressed the need for a specific “implementation” plan.

COMPAS CAUCUS

Later that day, as the idea spread to the various regional FOCO and caucus meetings being held, the association’s COMPAS caucus considered a proposal to adopt an anti-war resolution.¹⁰ The official role of NACCS’ COMPAS caucus is “the empowerment and welfare of the Chicana and Chicano community..., (and to) direct social action to address issues in our community and the organization.”¹¹ However, in actuality, the caucus had been defunct and inoperative in terms of its by-laws mandate for a number of years, serving solely to distribute information and announcements to the NACCS membership. Thus, members of COMPAS saw the proposed anti-war resolution as a way to re-establish a more overt political orientation to the caucus, and to NACCS as a national organization. The COMPAS caucus voted affirmatively to compose an anti-war resolution. Moreover, COMPAS’ proposed resolution included a clause that identified itself, the COMPAS caucus, as the “organizational mechanism” for coordinating activities and actions that might develop from the resolution.

There was a political organizing rationale for inserting this “organizational mechanism” clause into COMPAS’ proposed resolution. The geographically regional FOCO was the basic unit of the association’s national organizational structure and its basis for individual membership and participation in the association’s activities and decision-making. However, the annual four day national conference was the only practical opportunity for the geographically regional FOCOS to convene as a group and to engage in an association-wide common political action. However, the

caucuses were national, association-wide organizational components of NACCS. Thus, COMPAS, with its official mandate to “direct social action,” was the natural choice for assuming a leadership role in coordinating and directing anti-war activities across the association’s regional FOCO organizational structure in the interim between national conferences.

NACCS ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS

The organizing effort over the remainder of the conference generated four proposed anti-war resolutions at the concluding 2002 business meeting. Three emerged out of Northern California, Southern California, and Rocky Mountain FOCOs, and one from the COMPAS caucus. All were approved by the membership.

While similar, the resolutions were substantively distinguishable. For example, the Northern California FOCO most clearly articulated the principles of NACCS’ opposition to the War on Terrorism. The Southern California FOCO and the COMPAS caucus’ resolutions, which were merged since they were almost identical, differed from the other FOCO anti-war resolutions in two ways. First, it made explicit the need for a plan of “implementation” based upon a specific proposed action. More specifically, they declared that the 2003 national conference be thematically organized in terms of NACCS’ opposition to the War on Terrorism, and that other interim activities between the 2002 and 2003 national conferences should be held. Second, it named the COMPAS caucus specifically as the mechanism for overseeing the “operationalization” of the resolution.

PRINCIPLES OF OPPOSITION

There were three principles of opposition to the War on Terrorism inscribed in the four approved resolutions.¹² First, NACCS had declared its opposition to the “War on Terror,” because contrary to the Bush administration’s claim that it was a worldwide fight against the forces of “evil,” the resolutions portrayed it as a war to defend and expand U.S. imperialism. Behind the administration’s cynical claim to seek justice for innocent Americans killed on September 11th, the resolutions argued

that the War on Terror was an arrogant assertion of a right to military, cultural, and economic domination of the world.¹³

Second, the resolutions declared a NACCS opposition to the war because the death and destruction it portended for people of color in the “Third World” was inseparably related to an attack, then already underway, on the social justice and civil rights and liberty concerns of Chicanos and other progressive people and communities in the U.S. In a general and direct sense the resolutions argued that national resources directed towards foreign wars are resources taken from domestic social justice concerns. In a barely more subtle manner, the resolutions emphasized that the costs of war—who fights, kills, dies, and pays—is always race, class, and gender discriminatory.¹⁴

Third, the resolutions declared that NACCS’ opposition to the Wars on Terror was based on the Chicano Movement ideology from which the very identities of “Chicanos/as” and “NACCS” were derived. NACCS was opposed to the War on Terror not only because the war was imperialist; but also because we, as Chicano/a Studies scholars/activists and NACCS members, were upholding the principles of the Chicano Movement.¹⁵

CELEBRATING THE CHICANO MORATORIUM AND FEBRUARY ACTION

In the Fall of 2002 the COMPAS caucus took its mandate from the resolutions to “serve as a coordinating body” for implementing NACCS’ anti-war political stance by organizing its first activity. This was a set of coordinated “NACCS Public Forums” held at urban university and community locations in California, Illinois, and Indiana by the Southern California, Northern California, and Midwest NACCS FOCOs. They were organized under a common theme of “Celebrating the Chicano Moratorium.” The intent of these NACCS public forums commemorating the moratorium was to publicize both in the university and in the larger community the resolutions that had been adopted by NACCS the previous Spring. They were also intended to be a venue for publicly articulating the principles behind NACCS’ opposition to the “War on Terror.”

The Chicano Moratorium itself was a historic anti-war march and demonstration against the U.S. war on Vietnam that occurred on August 29th, 1970. The moratorium, the climax of an anti-war social movement in the Chicano community in the late 1960's and early 1970s, is acknowledged by many in Chicano Studies to have been the "apex" of the Chicano Movement.¹⁶ The Moratorium manifested a historically remarkable public emergence of a mass Chicano anti-Vietnam war activism in a Mexican American community that was characterized as reflexively "flag-waving patriotic" and/or assimilationist in nature.¹⁷

In an important sense this historic anti-Vietnam War movement in a "socially conservative" Mexican American community is explained by the impulse and the trend of anti-imperialism in the Chicano Movement. Historically and ideologically, the foundation of Chicano/a Studies, as well as NACCS, was in this Chicano Movement. It was for this reason that an action celebrating NACCS' and Chicana/o Studies' relationship to the historical experience of the Chicano Moratorium, and specifically to its anti-imperialism, was selected to initiate the process of publicly articulating the stance on the War on Terror adopted at the 2002 national conference.

In the Winter of 2003 COMPAS coordinated another expanded set of public forums deemed as "February Action" at urban university and community locations in California, Washington, Arizona, Illinois, and Indiana that involved the association's Southern California, Northern California, Pacific Northwest, Rocky Mountain, and Midwest FOCOs. These forums occurred as the Bush administration's campaign for the War on Iraq was reaching its peak. These forums became part of the historic worldwide social movement of opposition to the March 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq.

2003 COMPAS SPECIAL SESSION AND WORKSHOP

The celebration of the Chicano Moratorium and the February Action were organized by the COMPAS caucus in the interim period between the 2002 Chicago and the 2003 Los Angeles NACCS annual meetings as called for in the previously mentioned resolutions. However, the explicit

form of implementation called for by the combined resolutions was for COMPAS to elaborate an anti-war theme for the 2003 national conference and "... to make programmatic and organizational suggestions for how to structure that theme into the 2003 national conference..."

This "programmatic and organizational" integration of an anti-war theme into the 2003 conference took the form of a "COMPAS Special Session and Workshop." This COMPAS Special Session and Workshop was conceived as a half-day "mini-conference" on NACCS' opposition to the "War on Terror" that would be structured into the conference's general program. It was programmed for Friday afternoon, the middle working day of the association's annual meeting.

There was an underlying conception to the special session and workshop. This concept encompassed a view that the commitment to an anti-war political stance that NACCS had made the previous year would be an ongoing and activist one. The political stance would have to respond and correspond to the duration, the developments, the evolutions, and the transformations of the War on Terror itself. Further, the COMPAS Special Session and Workshop was conceived with a view that implementing NACCS' anti-war stance had to be in its first instance, an internal "intellectual" and "political" organizing of that opposition within the association itself. That is, the special session and workshop was conceived as a mode by which NACCS learns and develops its political role as a "colonized intellectual" of the Chicano community in the context of its opposition to the War on Terror.¹⁸

The special session component was entitled, "Chicano Anti-Imperialism and The U.S. War Against Iraq—A NACCS Perspective." The special session formalized the "intellectual" dimension of the internal organizing of NACCS' anti-war perspective. In the COMPAS plan the special session in conjunction with the workshop, was the main link in a process for socially constructing a NACCS' anti-war political stance. Specifically, the special session presenters addressed the war in terms of its international, domestic, and NACCS organizational political dimensions and implications. Substantively, however, the presentations were a discursive elaboration of the principles of NACCS' opposition to the War on Terror. A dis-

cursive elaboration that was informed by the presenters' participation in anti-war activism in the COMPAS organized interim activities between the 2002 and 2003 NACCS conferences—the “Celebration of The Chicano Moratorium” and the “February Action.”

While thematically the special session projected a primacy to elaborating the identification of the “War on Terror” as an imperialist war of aggression, the emphasis of the presentations was more towards drawing the connections between the US war against Iraq and the social justice, civil liberties and civil rights abuses of Chicanos “at home.” In this regard a version of Jorge Mariscal’s special session presentation, “The War at Home: What Raza Will Lose in Bush’s World,” was also given the day before at the conference’s plenary session.

The COMPAS Special Session was designed with an extensive floor discussion period to follow the presentations. This discussion period was spirited and productive. Attendees gave their own take on a “NACCS Perspective” on the “War on Terror.” They not only assessed and evaluated the special session presentations; they also presented views, opinions, and potential tactics and strategies of implementation informed by their own experiences, either as individuals or as part of other groups involved in anti-war activities.

The special session discussion period was followed by the “Workshop.” The workshop was conceived as the “political” dimension of the internal organizing of NACCS anti-war stance. More specifically, through the workshop participants were to develop “plans, strategies, and specific action proposals” to operationalize NACCS’ anti-war political stance through both “coordinated national activities” and “specific regional actions” that could be implemented after participants left the conference. The basic idea was that the workshop’s “political” organizing of NACCS’ anti-war stance was to be informed by the “intellectual” organizing of the special session. Some of the specific action proposals and plans that came out of the workshop were to once again and annually institutionalize and “Celebrate the Chicano Moratorium.” The workshop’s unanimity around the idea of celebrating the Moratorium conveyed the centrality that participants saw in identifying NACCS’ anti-war stance with its Chicano Movement history and ideology.

There was an equal importance that workshop participants saw to linking NACCS's anti-war stance to the association's social justice, civil liberties and rights concerns of the Chicano community. In this regard workshop participants contributed summaries and analyses of their own efforts to bring anti-war views into community activities they were involved in or supported. Thus, an important component of "implementation" of NACCS' anti-war stance was to link, coordinate, and to network the activities that NACCS members and groups were engaged in on their own.

The workshop also generated a consensus on the need to establish links and relationships to the national and international social movement of opposition to the U.S. war on and occupation of Iraq. It was consensus tempered, however, by an insistence that NACCS maintain and distinguish its Chicano/a and Chicano/a Studies identity and political agenda from any such integration with the national and international anti-war social movement. Specifically, the workshop foresaw a NACCS emphasis on the "War on Terror's" implications for U.S. imperialist aggression in Mexico, the Caribbean, and other parts of Latin America.

This reflection upon NACCS' response to the "War on Terror" initiated at the 2002 National Conference in Chicago is poised as a striving for praxis for the integration of scholarship and activism idealized in the organization's founding documents. Thus, it is reflected upon as an effort to realize a Chicano Movement-based Chicano Studies. This work that began in the year spanning the 2002 and 2003 NACCS annual meetings has been the framework through which the association continues to organize its activist opposition to the "War on Terror."

Endnotes

1 In the Fall of 2002, The National Women's Studies Association formally adopted an anti-war stance. Dr. Collette Morrow, who directs the Women's Studies program at Purdue University – Calumet in Hammond Indiana, conveyed this to me at a meeting in spring 2003. She was the President of the Women's Association that year.

2 On the "dance" between "terrorism" and U.S. imperialism see *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* by Chalmers A. Johnson. He documents how seemingly unprovoked attacks on the U.S. or its "national interests" are actually

"costs and consequences" of a long and continuing history of U.S. interventions, military and/or political, covert and overt. He develops this theme in *The Sorrows of Empire: Secrecy and The End of The Republic* and emphasizes empire's impact on U.S. culture, or "the republic," including militarism and the heightening of domestic social contradictions.

3 In Chicano Studies the "ideological dimension" of Chicano history and culture is first proposed by Octavio Romano (1968). Also, Juan Gomez-Quinones in the first Chicano Studies "Chicano historiography", emphasizes the role of Chicano history for generating analyses that can be used for "positive action" on the community's behalf (1971). The thesis of my dissertation, *The Ideology of The Political Movement for Chicano Studies* rests on this notion of an ideological orientation to Chicano history and culture (Contreras 1993). "Colonized minority" is a term coined by Robert Blauner (1969), a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley in the 1960s during the formative period of Chicano Studies. Blauner was widely referenced by Chicano Studies activists and scholars of the era. In particular, he was recognized by early Chicano Studies scholars for his significant contribution to the evolving perspective of "internal colonialism." Blauner used the term "colonized minority" to posit an ideological relationship between racial/ethnic minorities in the U.S. and people of color in the "third world," whose struggles mirrored efforts against U.S. social, economic, and political imperialism.

4 Rene Nunez and Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez have been contributors to Chicano/a Studies from its inception. Nunez was the principal organizer of the 1969 Santa Barbara Conference that generated *El Plan de Santa Barbara*. Martinez's early support and defense of the Cuban Revolution is a prime individual example of the "anti-imperialist" trend of thought and action that has always characterized Chicano/a Studies.

5 A basic premise of this essay is the presence and significance of an "anti-imperialist" trend of thought and action in the Chicano social movement of the 1960s/1970s, and therefore in Chicano/a Studies and NACCS. This implies an understanding of the Movement as being composed of various, multiple trends of thought and action with "anti-imperialism" being one of them. Jorge Mariscal identifies this anti-imperialist trend more generally as internationalist in his deconstruction of the "stereotype of the Chicano Movement of the Vietnam era as a narrowly nationalist and separatist social movement..." (Mariscal 2002; 2005). Projecting this Chicano Movement anti-imperialist ideological dimension onto Chicano/a Studies is based on the argument that Chicano Studies was a social constituent of that Movement and not just an accomplishment or consequence of it (Contreras 1993, 1997). In his history of the movement, Carlos Munoz supports this idea of Chicano/a Studies and its relationship to the Movement (Munoz 1989). This is not an imposition of a political "anti-imperialist identity" on Chicano/a Studies or NACCS, or on the individuals who compose it. This essay argues more narrowly that there is an anti-imperialist social trend of thought and action in Chicano/a Studies and in its national organization NACCS.

6 This presentation was published in the Summer 2002 *Noticias de NACCS* newsletter. (Volume 29 No. 2) It can be accessed at <http://www.naccs.org/images/naccs/archives/7071NACCS.pdf>.

7 See Immanuel Wallerstein's historical analysis on the origin of "traditional" Social Science (1980; 1991). Most important is his argument about the political and "ideological dimension" of traditional Social Science's origin. See Munoz on the relationship between Chicano Studies and the Chicano Movement (1989). Contreras' analysis of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* argues that in that document Chicano Studies is "self-conscious" about its ideological relationship to the Chicano Movement (1993). "El Plan" is cited as Chicano Coordinating Council for Higher Education (1969).

8 This was the basic thesis of my dissertation (Contreras 1993). This conception of Chicano Studies is also the basis for my analysis of the campaign for a Chicano Studies department at UCLA in 1993 (Contreras 1997). This view of Chicano Studies is implied by Munoz's history of the Chicano Movement (Munoz 1989). Chicano Studies is "self-conscious" about its ideology in *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (Chicano Coordinating Council for Higher Education 1969).

9 In the NACCS organizational structure, individual members are enrolled into the association and participate, principally, in association with activities and decision-making though a specific geographically regional unit called a "FOCO." While members vote on organizational matters such as resolutions on an individual basis, resolutions can be proposed to the association only through a regional FOCO or an association caucus that has its endorsement.

10 The NACCS organizational structure includes various caucuses that address specific issues/concerns/demographics of the organizations such as "women" (Chicana Caucus), or the relationship and representation of the "community" (Community Caucus) to the organization. Each caucus has at least one selected or elected voting representative from each FOCO. But membership/participation in any caucus is open to anyone in the general NACCS membership. A caucus can contribute to national organizational matters, like propose resolutions, similar to the FOCO.

11 This language on the COMPAS caucus is cited in the NACCS By-Laws. It can be accessed at <http://www.naccs.org/naccs/By-Laws.asp?SnID=1006306991#a8>.

12 The full text of the four anti-war resolutions were published in the Summer 2002 edition of the NACCS newsletter, *Noticias de NACCS* (Vol 29;2 <http://www.naccs.org/images/naccs/archives/7071NACCS.pdf>). The resolutions were numbered "#9" (Rocky Mountain FOCO), "#10" (Southern California FOCO and COMPAS caucus), and "#11" (Northern California FOCO).

13 This interpretation of the War on Terror is based on an analysis of the Bush administration's formal statement of strategic response to the terrorist attack on 9/11. See *The National Security Strategy of The United States of America - 2002*. It was publicly released in January 2002. It is in this document that the 'right' to permanently maintain current U.S. economic, political, and military supremacy, through "pre-emptive war" if necessary, is asserted. The assessment that on the whole this document asserts a right to "military, economic, and cultural domination of the world" is not an extreme one; or even contested by leading foreign policy officials of the Bush administration. See "Imperial America" by Richard A. Haass, who was a leading defense department official, for an acknowledgement of an "imperial" foreign policy even before 9/11. See "Imperial America and War" by John Bellamy Foster for critical analysis of this public acknowledgement of a "benevolent" U.S. imperialism by foreign policy experts and officials who support U.S. policies.

14 Documenting the “domestic costs” of U.S. imperialism, and specifically the race, class, and gender discriminatory nature of these costs, will be a primary focus of the “implementation” of these anti-war resolutions at the 2003 NACCS national meeting. Chalmers Johnson (2005) addresses this relationship between imperialism and “domestic costs” (“the sorrows of empire”) generally. Lorena Oropeza writes about its relationship to the emergence of a Chicano anti-Vietnam war movement (2005).

15 This elaboration of the third principle of opposition does not intend to contradict the point made in note #5. Chicano/a Studies/NACCS is composed of various, multiple trends of thought and action. This third principle implies a method by which unity, a common political position (or “stance”), is constructed out of such ideological heterogeneity.

16 This assessment of the Chicano Moratorium as the “apex” of the Movement is made in *Chicano! History of The Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, the television documentary made for National Public Broadcasting (PBS). This assessment of the Moratorium is implied in Munoz’s history of the Chicano Movement (1989). In his history of Chicanos, Rudolfo Acuna makes a similar assessment (Acuna 2003).

Lorena Oropeza presents the most complete study of the Chicano anti-Vietnam War movement and the importance of its place in the Chicano Movement (Oropeza 2005).

17 See Juan Gomez-Quinones’ analysis and explanation for the “patriotic” tenor that characterized Mexican American community leadership in the period that immediately preceded the rise of the Chicano Movement (Gomez-Quinones 1990: 45).

18 In Antonio’s Gramsci’s theory of Cultural Revolution, “organic intellectuals” are the agents of moral and intellectual reform (transformation) of the dominant hegemonic ideology (Gramsci 1970: 60-61). Utilizing an ideological conception of “history,” Frantz Fanon developed a similar notion, “colonized intellectual/artist,” who must “use the past” as a way of “opening the future” and as an “invitation to action” (Fanon 1968: 209). In my dissertation I fuse Gramsci’s and Fanon’s ideas and pose the role of the “colonized intellectual” as an analogy for the political role of Chicano Studies (Contreras 1993: 282-285).

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

When Tejano Ruled the Airwaves: The Rise and Fall of KQQK in Houston, Texas¹

Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., University of Houston

INTRODUCTION

“Tejano is back and so are all your old Tejano artists,” states an animated DJ for radio station KQQK 106.5 FM. Immediately thereafter, the station puts on a jamming ranchera by a top Tejano artist. This is quickly followed by another ranchera and another and another - a good 45 minutes of non-stop music. Later in the broadcast, the DJ announces that “Tejano is back and better than ever.”

This comment was in reference to the radio station’s earlier abandonment of Tejano music in 1999. KQQK was Houston’s leading Spanish-language radio station during most of the 1990s. Unlike other stations, it played *solamente* (strictly) Tejano music, a particular form of music developed by Tejanos in the early 20th century. It also used Spanglish in its DJ chatter and in its commercials. Its format was unique to other stations that played mostly Spanish language music from Mexico and other parts of the Spanish speaking world, and that used a Spanish only policy when addressing its listeners. The use of this bilingual format and the focus on Tejano music catapulted KQQK to the top of the Spanish-language radio

market. By mid-1999, however, KQQK abandoned this format and switched to other forms of music. When and why did KQQK quit playing Tejano music and what did it replace it with? Why did it return to Tejano music and with what results? To understand these developments we need to go back to the radio station's founding in the mid-1980s in order to explore the role that it played in Houston's Spanish language radio market.

TEJANO AND REGIONAL MEXICAN MUSIC

Before discussing KQQK, a brief description of Spanish language or "Latin" music is necessary. The world of Latin music includes a wide variety of genres divided into three major categories- Latin pop, tropical/salsa and regional Mexican. The latter comprises over 52% of all sales of Latin music. Regional Mexican, in turn, is comprised of nine distinct subgenres: Tejano, norteño, conjunto, grupo, mariachi, trio, tropical/cumbia, vallenato, and banda.² Each of these subgenres is distinct in the instrumentation, vocalization, repertoire, and performance styles. Because of a lack of consensus on definitions, there is a great deal of confusion over these labels. For our purposes, we will define each in the following manner. Tejano is a distinct type of music played primarily by Tejanos, for Tejanos. It is comprised of several genres of music including orquestas, conjuntos, grupos, and Chicano country bands playing a variety of Mexican music updated over the decades (San Miguel, 2002). Norteño is accordion-based music from northern Mexico and southern Texas. Conjunto is a generic term given to any accordion based group that plays Mexican music. Mariachi is a particular type of orquesta típica comprised of string and wind instruments. Trio makes reference to a group of three individuals usually playing two or three string instruments and harmonious singing of romantic songs. Tropical/cumbia makes reference to musical groups that specialize in the playing of cumbias, social dance music with a tropical flavor. Grupo is a particular musical group that is based on the keyboard. Vallenato is a particular style of accordion-based music from Latin America. Banda is an orquesta de pitos (horn orchestra) that plays a variety of Mexican music (Burr, 1999).

In Texas, *musica Tejana*, as well as most of the various forms of regional Mexican music, can be heard on Spanish language radio. Over the decades, these different forms of Mexican music competed for listeners but in the last decade of the 20th century, the competition between Tejano and *norteño* was fierce and full of tension. The following documents the manner in which this conflict manifested itself in one particular radio station, KQQK, in Houston, Texas during the 1990s.

ORIGINS OF KQQK AND THE RISE TO THE TOP

Prior to 1986, Spanish language radio, with a few minor exceptions, followed a “Mexico only” policy. This meant that radio stations only spoke Spanish on the radio and only played music popular in Mexico. Spanish language radio, for the most part, appealed to the Mexican immigrant population (Patoski, 1996).

KQQK challenged this “Mexico only” policy and developed a novel one that targeted Tejanos in its marketing campaign. Tejanos are Mexican-origin individuals born or raised in the U.S. and, unlike immigrants, grew up speaking both English and Spanish. They also listened to a variety of social dance music heard in the United States and in Mexico, including *musica Tejana*. This type of music popularly referred to as “Tejano” in the 1990s, was neither Mexican nor American but a complex hybrid that entailed the creative combination of rhythms, styles, and songs from both countries.³ Despite its complexity, the core of *musica Tejana* was the ever present polka-based *ranchera*.⁴

In order to appeal to Tejanos KQQK encouraged Spanglish among the DJs and in its commercials. It also encouraged the playing of songs performed by older Tejano artists such as Little Joe, Latin Breed, and Laura Canales and by the more contemporary ones of that period like Selena, Emilio, Mazz, and La Mafia.

Although founded in 1986, KQQK did not immediately settle on this “*Solamente Tejano*” (strictly Tejano) format. During the first three years of its existence it spent a great deal of effort developing this approach. From 1986 to 1989, for instance, it went from a predominantly English language station with an afternoon Tejano program to a full-time Spanish language station geared towards the bilingual Latino market.⁵

From 1989 to 1992 KQQK battled other Latino radio stations for supremacy. The station's primary competitors during these years were KXYZ 1320 AM and KLAT 1010 AM. KXYZ 1320 AM, owned by Infinity Broadcasting, went on the air in 1983. It transmitted 5,000 watts and played soft listening Spanish international contemporary music and appealed to a wide variety of Spanish speaking immigrants. The latter station, known as La Tremenda, also went on the air with 5,000 watts in 1983 and focused on regional Mexican music, especially rancheras. KLAT was owned by Tichenor Media Systems, one of the largest Spanish-language radio companies in the United States, and its listeners were mostly working class Mexican immigrants (Washington, D.C.: The Media Institute, 1987, p.99).

During these years, KQQK consistently ranked as the number two Latino radio station in the Houston market. This changed in the spring of 1992 when the arbitron ratings showed that KQQK, now known as Tejano 106.⁶ ranked as the number one Latino radio station in Houston.⁷ For the remainder of the 1990s it retained this position, despite fierce competition from other Spanish language radio stations.

KQQK's rise to the top of the Latino radio market occurred in the context of a general boom in *musica Tejana*. During the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s, *musica Tejana*'s popularity increased dramatically as Tejano artists like Selena, La Mafia, Emilio, and Mazz sold hundreds of thousands of CDs and filled stadiums, coliseums, and rodeos. Other indicators of increased popularity were the establishment of bilingual TV programming, print media, and Tejano radio.⁸ By mid-decade, *musica Tejana* was heard on the radio in twenty-three states from California to Rhode Island and listened to by countless others throughout Mexico and Latin America (San Miguel, Jr. 2002).

REMAINING AT THE TOP

KQQK's continued dominance of the Latino radio market in Houston after 1992 was not easy. It always had fierce competition from several radio stations, especially two FM radio stations founded in the early part of the decade. One of these was KLTN 93.3 FM Estereo Latino, founded in 1992, and KXTJ 108.5 FM Super Tejano, founded in 1993.

The latter was a clone of KQQK and played musica Tejana. It became this radio station's strongest competitor. This competition ended in January 1995 when the owners of KXTJ Super Tejano, El Dorado Communications, bought out KQQK Tejano 106 and began to broadcast the same type of music with some minor differences.⁹ By late 1997, however, and in response to market conditions, KXTJ switched formats from Tejano to regional Mexican music.¹⁰ This left KQQK, again, as the only station broadcasting musica Tejana.

KLTN Estereo Latino, unlike KQQK, appealed primarily to what publicity director Arturo Sanchez then called the "Hispanic yuppie" market, that is, the increasing numbers of upwardly mobile Spanish language immigrants from Mexico, Central and South America. It also targeted a growing bilingual market of third and fourth generation Mexican Americans and some crossover English-language listeners. KLTN initiated a Spanish-only policy in its content and a more diverse musical selection comprised of various types of Spanish language music, especially musica romantica (romantic pop ballads).¹¹

In 1995, KLTN increased its competitive edge when it initiated a simulcast broadcast with its sister station, KLTO 104.9 FM.¹² In the next several years, KLTN came consistently close to beating KQQK in the rankings but was unable to displace it as the number one Latino radio station in Houston. KQQK's "Solamente Tejano" format remained a winning strategy in the 1990s.

SWITCH TO "TEJANO Y MAS" (TEJANO PLUS)

Although KQQK had been quite successful with its "Solamente Tejano" approach, it switched over in the latter part of the summer of 1999 to what I call a "Tejano y Mas" (Tejano plus) format. This type of programming was aimed at expanding KQQK's base by making the radio station more appealing to the large number of Mexican immigrants that had settled in Houston during the 1990s.¹³

To attract these new listeners, KQQK made three significant changes to its programming. First, it abandoned the bilingual format and initiated a

Spanish only policy. As part of this effort, the radio station replaced bilingual commercials and DJ chatter with Spanish only ones. In most cases, the station “forced” its DJs to speak only Spanish, a difficult task given that most of them were Tejanos not formally trained in that language. Second, it played more artists from Mexico and more *musica norteña*. Among the groups that began to dominate the air waves at KQQK were Limite, Los Invasores del Norte, Ramon Ayala y Los Bravos del Norte, and Intocable. Third, the radio station played fewer polka-driven rancheras and more cumbias and baladas. Unlike rancheras, which appealed primarily to the older generation, cumbias and baladas were embraced by the new generation and by the new immigrants as part of their musical heritage. Tejano artists such as Mazz and Jay Perez and the ranchera-based songs they recorded became an insignificant part of KQQK’s play list.¹⁴ The radio station’s slogan--“exitos Tejanos y norteño” (Tejano and norteño hits) -- and its greater dependence on Spanish only on the air reflected this switch away from Tejano only.

KQQK Top 10 Playlist for Dec 6, 1999

1. Se Baila Asi, Los Tigrillos, Norteño
2. Dices Ya No, Pesado, Norteño
3. La Chica de los Ojos Tristes, Cornelio Reyna, Jr., Norteño
4. Solo Una Patada, Ramon Ayala, Norteño
5. Me Hace Llorar, Masizzo, Norteño
6. Perdedor, Intocable, Norteño
7. De Vida o Muerte, Los Invasores, Norteño
8. El Amigo Que Se Fue, Intocable, Norteño
9. Tu Muñeca, Zulmara Norteño
10. Fuiste Malam, Kumbia Kings, Tejano

Source: KQQK FM 106.5 Top 25 Playlist, December 6, 1999 El Dorado Communications, Houston, Texas (in author's possession).

Three official reasons were given for this “modification” in programming, as Tom Perry, Director of Programming, called it. First, Mexican immigrants had become an important and increasing segment of the Spanish language listening audience. Second, *norteño* music had become extremely popular during the latter part of the 1990s, especially among recent immigrants from Mexico. Groups like Intocable, Limite, and Invasores del Norte were selling millions of CDs and taking the industry by storm. Third, Tejanos themselves had become very fond of this type of music. Award presentations and concert performances indicated the increased popularity of *norteño* among Tejanos. From 1996 to 2000, for instance, two *norteño* groups won the Tejano Music Awards for album of the year under the traditional conjunto category—Michael Salgado and Intocable. Intocable and Limite also became the most popular artists in the Go Tejano Day at the Houston rodeo since Selena and Emilio of the early 1990s.¹⁵

Two other factors also undoubtedly contributed to KQQK's changes in radio programming. One of these was the slump in the Tejano music industry. Tejano nightclubs throughout the state closed down or switched to other types of music, CD sales were down, and no new artists as popular as Selena or Emilio had emerged. Tejano industry observers blamed this slump on several major factors: an increasingly conservative radio market, a shrinking live-music circuit, a glut in the Tejano market, and the absence of new creative and charismatic superstars comparable to Selena or Emilio of the early 1990s (San Miguel, Jr., pp. 126-128). Tejano's slump greatly benefited the larger regional/Mexican genre, which included *musica norteña*, an accordion-based music done in the style of northern Mexican conjuntos such as Ramon Ayala.

Despite the slump in this particular industry, Tejano did not disappear or wither away, as many observers noted.¹⁶ Tejano remained where it has always been - in the community. It continued to thrive in community festivals like Party on the Plaza or the International Festival and in neighborhood nightclubs such as Oscar's in the Northside, the Casino Ballroom, Bea's Island Club, and Palmer's Ice House. It also continued to be played in family-based dances celebrating birthdays, quinceñeras (15 year old dances), bodas (weddings), and graduations.

The other important factor impacting KQQK's changes was the surge in the popularity of KLTN. In 1998, KLTN, a constant competitor to KQQK's dominance of Latino radio, acquired a bigger signal and went from 93.3 to 102.9 on the FM dial. Soon thereafter, the radio station also modified its format by switching from Spanish language contemporary music to a mixture of *musica nortea* and other forms of regional Mexican music. Although it played an occasional Tejano group like Emilio or Selena, KLTN concentrated on the hit tunes recorded by northern Mexican groups such as Los Tigrillos and Limite or by *nortea*-based conjuntos such as Los Tigres del Norte, Intocable, Ramon Ayala, and Los Invasores del Norte.¹⁷

These changes increased KLTN's popularity among Latinos, including Tejanos, and improved its ratings. By early 1999 KLTN toppled KQQK as the leader of Spanish language radio in Houston.¹⁸ The surge in KLTN's popularity and ratings, as well as the other factors mentioned above, created fear and anxiety in KQQK and encouraged the station's executives to abandon its "Solamente Tejano" format.

LISTENERS RESPOND: DISILLUSIONMENT AND ABANDONMENT

The shift from "Solamente Tejano" to "Tejano y Mas" backfired. The strategy not only failed to attract Spanish speaking immigrants in significant numbers, but it also cost them their Tejano listeners. Many of them were turned off by the radio station's changes and disillusioned with its direction.

Within weeks after these changes were implemented Tejano listeners began to complain about the station's direction, especially its music. "They play the same song over and over and do not have a diverse selection," noted Debra Barrera Carrizal, a former KQQK listener. "They don't play the Tejano artists of the past or of the present," noted Jumping Jess Rodriguez, a former KQQK DJ. "They play too much immigrant music or music from Mexico and not enough from Tejanos," stated Gordy "the Boogiemán" Rodriguez, another former KQQK DJ.¹⁹

Some listeners opposed these changes because they were using too much Spanish or they were using it incorrectly. "When they (the DJs) spoke

Spanish, they wouldn't even do it right. Estaba forzado (It wasn't natural)," stated Alicia Moreno, another disillusioned KQQK listener. "It didn't flow," she added.²⁰

A more profound reason for opposing these changes has been suggested by Cecilia Balli in a report to the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center. She argues that KQQK listeners viewed the changes as a form of betrayal to la cultura Tejana. Radio executives tend to view music on the radio as a business, as a moneymaking enterprise. They are only interested in the bottom line. Tejano listeners, however, tend to view music on the radio as cultura, that is, as a reflection of their own distinct identity as Mexicanos living in a culturally insensitive state. For Tejanas/os, musica Tejana is a lived cultural experience that aids in the process of identity formation by providing a connection to the past and to the culture found in the community. The decline of musica Tejana on the airwaves then was viewed by many as "taking part of your culture away."²¹ Regardless of the reasons for opposing these changes, the result was usually the same: disappointment, anger, and mixed feelings towards the radio station.

Within weeks after the changes to a "Tejano y Mas" format many of these listeners began to speak badly about the radio station. Some even developed "KQQK SUCKS" stickers, which they displayed on their hats, cars, and trucks.²² Many of its listeners also abandoned KQQK and went to other radio stations, including KLTN, its major competitor.

RETURN TO "SOLAMENTE TEJANO" (STRICTLY TEJANO)

In response to these developments, KQQK abandoned its "Tejano y Mas" programming and returned to solamente Tejano in February of 2001. The complaints by Tejano listeners, the abandonment of KQQK by Tejano listeners, and the perceptible decline in the radio station's arbitron ratings (and in its revenues) served as important motivators. Tom Perry also noted, unconvincingly, that a resurgence of the Tejano music industry and the appearance of more "mainstream" Tejano music and artists contributed to this change in format.²³

In an effort to woo back its Tejano listeners and to improve its ratings KQKK made at least three significant changes in its programming. First, it abandoned its Spanish only policy of the recent past and returned to bilingualism. Second, it quit playing mostly Mexican or norteño based groups and started focusing on Tejano artists such as Emilio, Eddie Gonzalez, and Mazz. By doing so, it also began to play more polka-based rancheras and less cumbias because that was the type of music favored by Tejano artists. The comparative list of Top Ten Hits for June 25, 2001 reflects this return to “Solamente Tejano.”

KQKK Top 10 Playlist for June 25, 2001

1. Como El Viento, Texas Latino, Tejano
2. Siempre Cuenta Conmigo, Leonardo Gonzalez, Tejano
3. La Que Me Hace Llorar, Fama, Tejano
4. Por Amarte Asi, Jimmy Gonzalez, Tejano
5. Infel, Joe Lopez, Tejano
6. Los Tres Amigos, Roberto Pulido, Tejano
7. Esos Dos Amigos Brindaron Por Ella, Ramon Ayala, Norteño
8. Dime Que Soy Tuyo, Gary Hobbs, Tejano
9. Cosita Dulce, Texas Latino, Tejano
10. Ruben Naranjo, Medley Eddie Gonzalez, Tejano

Source: KQKK FM 106.5 Top 25 Playlist, June 25, 2001 El Dorado Communications, Houston, Texas (in author's possession).

While most of these types of songs and artists were played throughout the day, it highlighted them during the noon hour, from 12:00 p.m. to 1:00 p.m., and during the rush hour of 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. Finally, it established the “Old School” program on Sunday afternoons. During the hours from 6:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. the radio stations played songs and artists popular in Texas during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The music of the orquesta greats such as the Royal Jesters, Little Joe, Freddie Martinez, and Latin Breed; of conjunto artists such as Bernal and Los Chachos; and of grupos such as La Movida, Laura Canales, Selena, Mazz,

and La Mafia, were played during the entire afternoon. Additionally, KQQK encouraged one of the longest surviving Tejano nightclubs--Hullabaloos-- to initiate "Old School" music on Wednesday and Friday evenings.²⁴

Audience response to the return of "Solamente Tejano" at KQQK was mostly positive. "Increasing numbers of Tejano listeners are calling and telling us that 'you guys are jamming,' 'you guys are on our radio dial once again,' and 'your music is awesome,'" noted one of the radio station's DJs.²⁵

Despite these favorable comments, a few individuals, such as "the Boogiemán" and Jumping Jess Rodríguez strongly believed that KQQK was still "not Tejano enough" because it ignored the "classic era" of this music.²⁶ This usually refers to the variety of music played by orquestas, conjuntos, and grupos Tejanos during the 1960s and 1970s. The radio station, however, promised its listeners that KQQK would develop a "Tejano classic" hits program in the near future. By late February 2001 KQQK had still not developed this program.

Although KQQK returned to the "Solamente Tejano" format, the damage had been done. Not only did it lose its Tejano listeners, the radio station also lost its dominance of Spanish-language radio in Houston. As Tejanos and Tejanas abandoned KQQK, its ratings and popularity plummeted. The ratings of other radio stations, especially KLTN 106.5 FM, in turn surged as those of KQQK fell. By the summer of 2002, KLTN 106.5 FM Estereo Latino gained dominance of both the Spanish-language market and the general market. KLTN, in other words, became the leading radio station for the entire Houston metro area.²⁷ Increased immigration from Mexico as well as the growth of the Hispanic media, especially the role played by Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation, played a crucial role in its dominance.²⁸

The rapid growth of regional Mexican radio stations soon led to the disappearance of Tejano music from the airwaves. In late 2001, KQQK 106.5 FM, the last remaining Tejano station in the Houston area, abandoned this type of music for Spanish pop. It also changed its call letters and became known as the XO. Tejano music on the radio officially came to an end in Houston.²⁹

A few months after the demise of KQQK several efforts were made to bring back Tejano to Houston. In October of 2002, for instance, KRTX AM, now called Tejano 980, began to play Tejano music. This station, however, based in the Richmond/Rosenberg area, a suburb of Houston, had a weak signal that was hard to pick up in many parts of Houston. Another local station, KGOL AM 1180, featured Tejano music, but only from 7 to 8 a.m. on weekdays.³⁰

In the absence of Tejano radio and in order to appeal to Tejano fans, two avid fans, Jumping Jess Rodriguez and Gordy “the Boogiemán” Rodriguez, former KQQK DJs, started an internet Tejano station that played only Tejano music 24 hours a day - bandidoradio.com. “Spanish radio is not playing our music and English stations aren’t playing our music. We’ve always been left in-between,” noted the Boogiemán. “On the Internet, we can be heard all over the world,” he added.³¹

Soon after it started airing, Bandidoradio.com merged with La Nueva Voz, a small but growing bilingual newspaper from Fort Bend County. The intent of this small merger was to promote musica Tejana locally through the print media and globally through the internet.³² Bandidoradio.com experienced steady growth in late 2002 and early 2003 but legal problems soon led to its demise.³³ Despite these brave efforts, Tejano music did not reappear. It disappeared with the demise of KQQK Solamente Tejano.

CONCLUSION

This case study of the rise and fall of a Tejano music radio station symbolizes, illustrates, showcases, suggests, and intimates a strong relationship between popular culture, music in this case, and a host of other factors such as identity, demography, power, and competition.

The rise and fall of KQQK especially illustrates the strong relationship between popular culture and identity formation. For Tejanos, KQQK was not simply a money-making venture. It was an aspect of Tejano culture. More specifically, it represented an integral part of their culture that had been absent in the public arena. The radio’s musical selections, its use of Tejano DJs, and its acceptance and utilization of bilingualism as a medi-

um of communication publicly legitimized their much despised and repressed cultural heritage.

For over a century and a half, Tejanos experienced a daily barrage of institutional and personal assaults on their cultural heritage, on their language, on their cultural traditions, and on their persons/bodies by both Anglo and Mexican authorities. Anglo American institutions and officials, for instance, consistently repressed, distorted, dismissed, or ignored the rich cultural heritage of the Mexican origin population born and raised in Texas. They passed policies against the speaking of Spanish, condemned a variety of cultural practices such as dancing, cock-fighting, and drinking, demeaned or dismissed the contributions of Mexican origin individuals to the making of Texas, and appropriated the land, lives, and livelihood of Tejanos (De Leon, 1999; Stewart and De Léon, 1993; De Leon, 1989). Mexican immigrant organizations and officials also failed to give proper credit and recognition to Mexican origin individuals born and raised in Texas and to their cultural heritage. The exclusion of Texas Mexican music from Spanish-language radio during most of the twentieth century is one example of their dismissal of Tejano culture.

KQQK contested these historical policies and practices by publicly recognizing the cultural heritage and musical tastes of Tejanos on the radio. For Tejanos then KQQK was culture; it reflected, legitimized, and affirmed the rich cultural and musical heritage that had developed under oppressive socio-economic and political conditions in Texas since the 1820s.

This case study also intimates a strong relationship between popular culture and power. At one level, it shows how Tejano listeners were able to influence the direction of a radio station without having a direct say in its management. Although they were not owners of the station, Tejano listeners wielded power by either supporting or withholding support for this radio station. Their support led to the rise of KQQK; their withdrawal of support helped lead to its demise. On another level, this case study also shows how powerless Tejanos were in determining the ultimate shape that Spanish-language radio would eventually take. The rise and fall of KQQK took place within a larger context of rapid Mexican and Latino immigration to Houston and fierce competition between major

corporations interested in profiting from the presence of these immigrants. Tejanos, in this case, were minor actors in these developments.

Although norteño music now dominates Spanish-language radio in Houston and elsewhere, Tejano fans will always remember this exciting period when their music, however brief in time, ruled the airwaves in one major Latino market.

Endnotes

1 Paper originally presented at the 29th Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies, March 28-30, 2002, Chicago, Illinois. My paper was originally titled "Tejano vs. Norteño: A Case Study of Inter-ethnic Conflict in Tejano Radio."

2 Ramiro Burr, *Tejano and Regional Mexican Music* (NY: Watson-Guipill Publications, 1999), p.9.

3 For a popular history of this music see Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Tejano Proud: Tex-Mex Music in the 20th Century* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002). See also Manuel Pena, *Musica Tejana* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999).

4 Musica Tejana likewise reflected the distinct historical experiences and ethnic identities of the Tejano population. This music reflected its history of conflict, limited opportunity, and cultural pride in this country. For further elaboration see San Miguel, Jr., 2002.

5 In October 1986, KQQK was known by the call letters of KXXK and played Spanish-language music. By April 1987, it was playing top 40 hits, heavy metal, and some Tejano (9-12 noon on Sundays). It also played Spanish only or bilingual commercials and used bilingual DJs. Sylvia Cavazos was the station's program director and the evening DJ. Iris Moreno hosted the morning slot. Louis B. Parks, "Boldly bilingual: KQQK combines English, Spanish in new approach," *Houston Chronicle*, April 20, 1987, Houston section, p. 1. In April or May 1989 KQQK changed its format and became a mostly Tejano radio station. In addition to using bilingualism in its DJ chatter and in its commercials, the station played Tejano hits for about 80% of the time and top 40 hits the other 20%. Juan R. Palomo, "Houston Station shows the future," HP, October 21, 1990, A26.)

6 Carole Juarez G., "KQQK sets airwaves a blaze with Tejano music," *Viva: A Supplement to the Houston Post*, Vol. 5, No. 10 (December 4, 1992): F1, F4.

7 In 1992, KQQK was the top Hispanic radio station and stood at no. 18 in market share among all Houston radio stations and at the top of the Hispanic stations, with 1.9 % of all listeners. It was followed closely by two other Hispanic radio stations, KXYZ at 1320 AM, with 1.7% and KLAT, with 1.4%. Debra Beachy, "1 tongue, many voices: Hispanic radio stations compete for Houston listeners," *Houston Chronicle*, Aug 31, 1992, Internet copy. See also Carole Juarez G., "KQQK sets air-

waves ablaze with Tejano music," *Viva*, supplement to the *Houston Post*, vol 5, Number 10, Dec 4, 1992, F1,F4.

8 For the growth of Latino and Tejano music on the web see Ramiro burr, "Growth of Tejano and Latino music online," *Houston Chronicle*, Sun July 9, 2000, p. 13 and Ramiro burr, "Internet Plugs into Latino Music," *Houston Chronicle*, Sunday, March 5, 2000, p. 14. For information on Tejano music video channel see Anissa R. Hernandez, "Here it is-all-Tejano music video channel," *La Onda*, Noviembre, 1997, p. 9.

9 Beverly Narum, "Tichenor Media Systems Turns on Hispanic Radio Market Campaign," *Houston Chronicle*, April 3, 1995. Internet copy.

10 Ramiro Burr reports that in 1997 major-market radio stations began switching formats from Tejano to regional/Mexican (or to "Tejano y mas"). The decline of the Tejano market, the lack of new innovative artists, and the growth of Mexican and Central American immigrants accounts for these changes. Among these stations was KXTJ 107.9 FM and KRTX 100.7 FM in Houston. Ramiro Burr, "Tejano loses some appeal on the radio," *HC*, Jan 4, 1998, p. 6, Zest section.

11 Eileen O'Grady, "Hispanic radio Making Inroads," *Houston Post*, Sept 12, 1994, E2, internet copy.

12 Beverly Narum, "Tichenor Media Systems Turns on Hispanic Radio Market Campaign," *Houston Chronicle*, April 3, 1995. internet copy.

13 Interview with Tom Perry, Director of Programming, KQQK. February 15, 2002.

14 Interview with Tom Perry, Director of Programming, KQQK. February 15, 2002.

15 Interview with Tom Perry, Director of Programming, KQQK. February 2002.

16 See, for instance, the alarmist view offered by Russell Contreras, "Roll Over Selena and Tell Emilio the News," *Houston Press*, May 6-12, 1999.

17 See "Who's numero uno?," *Houston Chronicle*, February 10, 1999, p. 1 (Star section).

18 According to one source, KTLN was so popular in the fall of 1998 that it tied with an English language station, KRBE, for the number one spot in the general Houston radio market. See "Who's numero uno?," *Houston Chronicle*, February 10, 1999, p. 1 (Star section).

19 Personal interviews with Debra Barrera Carrizal, February 16, 2002; Jumping Jess Rodriguez, February 17, 2002; Gordy "the Boogiemán" Rodríguez, February, 17, 2002.

20 Personal interview with Alicia Y. Moreno, February 18, 2002.

21 Cecilia Balli, "Its Not About Music Anymore," Unpublished manuscript, commissioned by the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, December, 2001, p. 64. (In author's possession).

22 Cecilia Balli, "Its Not About Music Anymore," Unpublished manuscript, commissioned by the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, December, 2001. (In author's possession).

23 Interview with Tom Perry, Director of Programming, KQQK. February 2002.

24 Interview with Tom Perry, Director of Programming, KQQK. February 2002.

25 Heard on KQQK 106.5FM, February 20, 2001.

- 26 Personal interviews with the Boogiemán and Jumping Jess, February 20, 2001.
- 27 Clifford Pugh, "Arbitron ranks Spanish-language KLTN-FM número uno," *Houston Chronicle*, July 25, 2002, p. 4D.
- 28 For fascinating articles on the changes in the radio industry and the role of major corporations see David Kaplan, "A niche no more: Spanish-language networks are becoming media titans," *Houston Chronicle*, June 23, 2002, 1A and Clifford Pugh, "Changes in the airwaves: as corporations gobble up local stations, will listeners be winners or losers?," *Houston Chronicle*, July 14, 2002, p. 8, 17.
- 29 Clifford Pugh, "Fanning the 'flame' of Tejano: Houston faithful keeping musical niche alive here," *Houston Chronicle*, Dec 1, 2002, p. 13.
- 30 Clifford Pugh, "Fanning the 'flame' of Tejano: Houston faithful keeping musical niche alive here," *Houston Chronicle*, Dec 1, 2002, p. 13.
- 31 Clifford Pugh, "Fanning the 'flame' of Tejano: Houston faithful keeping musical niche alive here," HC, Dec 1, 2002, p. 13.
- 32 Interview with Gordy "the Boogiemán" Rodríguez, February 17, 2002.
- 33 Although bandidoradio.com went off the air, Tejano music continued to be played under two new internet sites-BNETradio.com and Amigosradio.com. Email from Boogiemán to Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. September 12, 2003 (in author's possession).

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